He is Omniscient
A Course on the Knowledge and Science of Islam
– 2 –

Knowing the Imams

Volume 9

Evidential Reliance on the Ghadir Hadith

Allamah Sayyid Muhammad
Husayn Husayni Tihrani

Translated by
Rahim P. Dawlati and Salim Rossier

Editor
Sayyed Khalil Toussi

Series Editor
Seyyed Hossein Nasr

Great Books of the Islamic World

A Course on the Knowledge and Science of Islam
- 2 -
He Is Omniscient

Knowing the Imams

Volume 9

Evidential Reliance on the Ghadīr Hadith, Verses Revealed about the Aftermath, Celebration of the Event, and Investiture of Imam Ali with the Turban

ᶜAllāmah Sayyid Muhammad Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī Ṭihrānī

Translated by Rahim P. Dawlati and Salim Rossier

Editor: Seyyed Khalil Toussi

Series editor: Seyyed Hossein Nasr

Great Books of the Islamic World

© 2017 Great Books of the Islamic World

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the written permission of the publishers.

Printed in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
Allamah Hajj Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Husayni Tihrani
Knowing the Imams, Volume 9
• 1. Islam. 2. Shiism. I. Title II. Author

Volume 9

ISBN 10: 1-56744-612-4
ISBN 13: 978-1-56744-612-8

Note: While it is common in Persian or Arabic to place blessings on the Prophet or the Imams (you may find an "as," "s," or "pbh" or something similar after the names of the Imams), it is not common practice in an English text. Readers should just say the phrase of blessings in their hearts when they see reference to the Prophet or Imams.

Published by
Great Books of the Islamic World
Distributed by
KAZI Publications, Inc.
3023 W. Belmont Avenue
Chicago IL 60618
Tel: 773-267-7001; FAX: 773-267-7002
email: info@kazi.org www.kazi.org

[God] is the Omniscient

A Course on the Knowledge and Science of Islam

Volume 9
of
Knowing the Imams
(Ghadīr 4, on the Citation of and Reliance on the Ghadīr Hadith as Evidence)

Lessons 121–35

Comprising

1—Citation of and Reliance on the Ghadīr (Guardianship) Hadith
2—Ma'mūn's most important session with Sunni scholars concerning the Master of the Faithful's Guardianship
3—The revelation of the verse *A petitioner prayed...* about someone who rejected the Ghadīr Hadith
4—The Shi'a and Sunni dispute is over fundamentals
5—Refutation of Ibn Taymiyyah's denial of the background to the revelation of the verse *A petitioner prayed...*
6—'Īd al-Ghadīr (the Festival of Ghadīr) is the greatest and holiest Islamic Festival, and is a day of blessings, charitable donations, and felicitation
7—The meaning of the word *'Īd*
8—According to God's Messenger and all the imams the Day of Ghadīr is a Festival; the Shi'a and the imams commemorate it
9—The two Shaykhs' congratulations and pledge of allegiance to the Master of the Faithful as Guardian and Imam
10—The hadiths on the virtue of 'Īd al-Ghadīr (the Festival of Ghadīr) and acts of worship appropriate to the occasion
11—The Prophet wound a turban around the Master of the Faithful's head on the Day of Ghadīr
12—The best clothing is that which is intended to please God and no one else
13—Imitating everything God's Messenger did, even how he dressed, brings about success, but following the pagans causes abjection
14—The related hadiths on the virtues and effects of wearing turbans; the turban is the crown of nobility

Contents

LESSONS ONE HUNDRED TWENTY-ONE TO ONE HUNDRED TWENTY-SEVEN 1

Ibn Makkī Mu'addab's Ode on the Appointment of the Master of the Faithful 3

Argument on the Basis of the Ghadīr Hadith against the Deniers and Their Concession of Defeat 7

The Names of the Prophet's Companions Who Bore Witness to the Ghadīr Hadith at Ruḥbah 26

The Number of Witnesses Who Corroborated the Ghadīr Hadith at Ruḥbah 27

Ma'mūn's Letter of Response to the Abbasids Adducing the Ghadīr Hadith as Evidence 82

LESSONS ONE HUNDRED TWENTY-EIGHT TO ONE HUNDRED THIRTY 87

LESSONS ONE HUNDRED THIRTY-ONE TO ONE HUNDRED THIRTY-FOUR 131

LESSON ONE HUNDRED THIRTY-FIVE 199

Notes 214

Index 260

Lessons One Hundred Twenty-One to One Hundred Twenty-Seven

Citation of and Reliance on the Ghadīr Hadith (Guardianship Hadith) as Evidence

LESSONS ONE HUNDRED TWENTY-ONE TO ONE HUNDRED TWENTY-SEVEN

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

And blessing upon Muhammad and his pure Household, and God's curse upon his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection! There is no power or strength except through Lofty, Glorious God.

Wise God says in His Glorious Book:

وَتِلْكَ حُجَّتُنَا آتَيْنَاهَا إِبْرَاهِيمَ عَلَىٰ قَوْمِهِ نَرْفَعُ دَرَجَاتٍ مَّن نَّشَاءُ إِنَّ رَبَّكَ حَكِيمٌ عَلِيمٌ.

And that is Our argument which We granted to Abraham against his people: We raise the levels of whom We please. Surely your Lord is All-wise All-Knowing (6:83).

Ibn Makkī Mu'addab's Ode on the Appointment of the Master of the Faithful

قمر اقام قيامتي بقوامه لم لا يجود لمهجتي بذمامه؟ 1

ملكته كبدي فاتلف مهجتي بجمال بهجته وحسن كلامه 2

وبمبسم عذب كان رضابه شهد مذاب في عبير مدامه 3

وبناظر غنج وطرف احور يسمي القلوب اذا رنا بسهامه 4

وكان خط عذاره في حسنه شمس تجلت وهي تحت لثامه 5

فالصبح يسفر من ضياء جبينه والليل يقبل من اثيث ظلامه 6

والظبي ليس لحاظه كلحاظه والغصن ليس قوامه كقوامه 7

قمر كان الحسن يعشق بعضه بعضا فساعده على قسامه 8

فالحسن من تلقائه ووراثه وبمينه وشماله وامامه 9

ويكاد من ترف لدقة خصره ينقد بالارداف عند قيامه[1] 10

1. Moon on whose firmness my resurrection is built
   Why then does he not look after my life-blood carefully?
2. I gave him my kidney, and my life-blood was spent with the beauty of his joy, and the fineness of his speech.

3. And with a sweet mouth as if his saliva is liquid honey in the fragrance of his wine
4. With a coquettish look, and dazzlingly black eyes, he mortally wounds (*yuṣmi*) hearts when he gazes (*ranā*) with his arrows
5. It is as if the line of beard growth in its beauty is a sun shining from under his lower face covering (*lithāmihi*)
6. So morning dawns from the light of his forehead and night approaches from the thick growth of his dark [hair]!
7. The gazelle's look is not like his look and the firmness of a branch is not like his firmness.
8. Moon, as if part of its beauty, loves the other part, helping him to apportion it
9. For, beauty is inherent to him, behind him, to his right and left and in front of him; and finally wherever he casts his glance and goes forth.
10. He is almost broken by his posterior when standing because of fragility from the slimness of his waist.

These couplets are by Ibn Makkī, who died in 565 AH. His full name is Saʿīd Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Makkī Nīlī Muʾaddab, an eminent Shiʿa scholar and poet who annihilated himself in love for the Prophet's Household. He says about the Ghadīr:

ألم تعلموا ان النبي محمدا بحيدرة اوصى ولم يسكن الرمسا 1

وقال لهم والقوم في خم حضر ويتلو الذي فيه وقد همسوا همسا 2

على كزري من قميصي وانه نصيري ومني مثل هارون من موسى 3

ألم تبصروا الثعبان مستشفعا به الى الله والمعصوم يلحسه لحسا[2] 4

فعاد كطاووس يطير كأنه تعشرم في الاملاك فاستوجب الحبسا 5

اما رد كف العبد بعد انقطاعها اما رد عينا بعد ما طمست طمسا[3] 6

1. Do you not know that Muhammad, the Prophet, had appointed Ḥaydar as executor before even settling in his grave?!
2. And he said to his people who had come together at Ghadīr Khumm; reciting what was about him, their having whispered much.
3. Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib is like the button on my shirt; he is my supporter, and is to me as Aaron was to Moses.
4. Did you not see the snake seeking his intercession before God, licking the Infallible.
5. It then turned back into a flying peacock, as if it had become proud of itself among the angels and deserved to be imprisoned![4]
6. Did Ali not reattach the servant's severed fingers (*kaff*)? And did he not restore sight after it had gone quite dark?

Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād says:

الذى كفله صغيرا ورباه وبالعلم وبالحكمة غذاه 1
وعلى كتفه رقاه وساميه فى المسجد وساواه 2
وقام بالغدير وناداه ورفع ضبعه واعلاه 3
وقال: من كنت مولاه فعلى مولاه 4
اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه[5] 5

1. He whom he took care of and brought up when he was young, feeding him with knowledge and wisdom
2. And lifted onto his shoulders, giving him a share of the mosque and making him his equal.
3. And stood up at the Ghadīr and called him, lifting and hoisting his upper arm
4. And said: "Whoever's Master I am, so [too] is Ali his Master.
5. O God! Be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy."

And Mahyār Daylamī[6] says:

وأسألهم يوم خم بعد ما عقدوا له الولاية لم خانوا ولم خلعوا 1
قول صحيح ونيات بها دغل لا ينفع السيف صقل تحته طبع 2
انكارهم يا امير المؤمنين لها بعد اعترافهم عاريه ادرعوا 3
ونكثهم يك ميلا عن وصيته شرع لعمرك ثان بعد ما شرعوا[7] 4

1. "And I ask them why, on the Day of Ghadīr, after pledging allegiance to him as leader, they betrayed and reneged
2. True words but corrupt intentions; polish under which there is rust is no use to a sword!
3. O Master of the Faithful! Their denial of your leadership, after confirming it, is a disgrace with which they armored themselves!
4. And their breach [of covenant] is a deviation from his testamentary instruction—I swear by your soul—a new code of religious law after they had already been brought one."

Ibn Shahr Āshūb says: "The author of *al-Jamharah* says under the entry for *khā'-mīm*: 'Khumm is the place where the Prophet appointed Ali as Guardian. Omar Ibn Abī Rabī'ah refers to it in his *Mufākharah*, as does Ḥassān Ibn Thābit in his poetry.'"

A hadith on the authority of Imam Bāqir says:

قال: لما قال النبي صلى الله عليه وآله يوم خم غدير بين الف وثلاثمائة رجل: من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه

"When, on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, among one thousand three hundred men, the Prophet said: 'Whoever's Master I am, so [too] is Ali his Master!'"

[Another] on the authority of Imam Ṣādiq says:

وعن الصادق عليه السلام: نعطي حقوق الناس بشهادة شاهدين، وما اعطى أمير المؤمنين حقه بشهادة عشر آلاف نفس.[8]

"We give people their due with just two witnesses, but the Master of the Faithful was not given his due with ten thousand souls [i.e. the Ghadīr]!"

Our discussion is on reliance on the Ghadīr Hadith, also known as the Guardianship Hadith, as evidence in arguments and debates. This alone represents important proof both that the prophetic hadith was actually uttered and of what it means.

When we discussed the Purification Verse in *Knowing the Imams*, vol. 3, lessons 40–45, we also dedicated a section to a discussion on reliance on the Purification Verse as evidence. We made it clear from the time of God's Messenger onward who has argued that the Purification Verse is exclusively about the Household: Muhammad, Ali, Fāṭimah, Hasan, and Husayn.[9] The reliance by God's Messenger, the Master of the Faithful, Imams Hasan and Husayn, and several companions and successors on it as evidence is good proof of what the Purification Verse means. Furthermore, great scholars, such as Majlisī and Shaykh Ṭabarsī, the author of *al-Iḥtijāj*, have devoted entire sections to reliance on it in arguments. In his valuable *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 159–213, ʿAllāmah Amīnī cites twenty-two instances in which it was relied on as evidence, via routes acceptable to Sunnis and in books approved by them. However, here we shall only mention a few of the important arguments recorded in both Shiʿa and Sunni books in the hope that they will help and guide our Sunni brothers.

Argument on the Basis of the Ghadīr Hadith against the Deniers and Their Concession of Defeat

The Guardianship Hadith, "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master," has always been, and still is, an absolute given since the very beginning of Islam.

In their discussions and disputes, the Household and the Shi'a refer to it, and their opponents have never been able to deny its provenance; discussions and arguments would be won with this hadith. So we see that there has been much reliance on this hadith, and it was common from the outset among the companions and the successors—from the time of the Master of the Faithful and before and after him. Wherever it has been relied upon, it is like a sun beyond the horizon, its rays spreading to the earth.

History tells us that the first reliance on this hadith was by Ali, the Master of the Faithful, at the Prophet's Mosque, against everyone, when Abū Bakr and Omar's men had brought Ali there to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr after God's Messenger's passing. After that, history shows that there has been much reliance on it.

The first evidential reliance is recorded in *Kitāb Sulaym Ibn Qays al-Hilālī al-Kūfī*,[10] because it addresses the events following God's Messenger's passing and allegiance to Abū Bakr followed by a detailed account of how the Master of the Faithful was taken to the mosque to pledge allegiance. He eventually says:

> When they led Ali to Abū Bakr, he was saying: "By God if my sword fell into my hand, you would realize that you will never reach this! By God, I do not blame myself in the struggle against you. If I had been provided with forty men, I would have dispersed your horde. Nevertheless, may God curse tribes who pledged allegiance to me then deserted me!"
>
> When Abū Bakr saw him, he shouted: "Let him go!"

فقال علی علیه السلام: یا ابابکر ما اسرع ما توثبتم علی رسول الله صلی الله علیه و آله! بأیّ حق وبأیّ منزلة دعوت الناس الی بیعتك؟! الم تبایعنی بالامس بأمر الله وأمر رسول الله صلی الله علیه و آله؟!

> So Ali said: "O Abū Bakr! How soon you have pounced on God's Messenger! On what authority and in what capacity have you called upon people to pledge allegiance to you?! Did you not previously pledge allegiance to me, by God's command and God's Messenger's command?"

The Imam said this at the same time as when Qunfudh, may God curse him, whipped Fāṭimah when she intervened between him and her husband. Omar had sent [Qunfudh] a message: "If Fāṭimah intervenes between you and him, beat her!" So Qunfudh knocked [Fāṭimah] against the doorpost to her house, crushed her, broke her rib on her side, and caused her to give stillbirth to the child in her womb! She then remained bedridden until she died as an [oppressed] martyr, may God bless her!

When Ali was led to Abū Bakr, Omar showed off and said: "Pledge allegiance and give up this nonsense!" so Ali asked: "And if I do not, what will you do?" They replied: "Then, we will kill you ignominiously and humiliatingly!" The [Imam] said: "So, you will kill a servant of God's, and a brother of His Messenger's!"

Abū Bakr replied: "As for God's servant, yes, but God's Messenger's brother, we do not accept that!"

قال: أتجحدون ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله آخى بيني وبينه؟ قال: نعم. فاعاد ذلك عليه ثلاث مرات. ثم اقبل عليهم على عليه السلام فقال: يا معشر المسلمين والمهاجرين والانصار انشدكم الله اسمعتم رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله يقول يوم غدير خم كذا وكذا؟ فلم يدع عليه السلام شيئا قاله فيه رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله علانية للعامة الا ذكرهم اياه،

قالوا: نعم، فلما تخوف ابو بكر ان ينصره الناس وان يمنعوه، بادرهم فقال: كل ما قلت حق قد سمعناه بآذاننا ووعته قلوبنا ولكن قد سمعت رسول الله يقول بعد هذا: انا اهل بيت اصطفانا الله واكرمنا واختار لنا الآخرة على الدنيا، وان الله لم يكن ليجمع لنا اهل البيت النبوة والخلافة

[Ali] asked: "Do you deny that God's Messenger made me his brother?!" Abū Bakr said: "Yes!" [The Imam] repeated it three times to him.

Then, Ali turned to [the people] and said: "O ye Muslims—Migrants and Supporters! I adjure you by God, did you hear God's Messenger say x and y on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm?" Then, he did not leave unsaid anything that God's Messenger had publicly said about him to everyone.

[The crowd] said: "Yes." Thereafter, as Abū Bakr was afraid that they might support Ali, and stop him, he said: "Yes, everything you say is true; we heard it with our [own] ears and our memories (*qulūbunā*) have retained it. But later on, I heard God's Messenger say: "We are a Household chosen and honored by God; He has chosen the Hereafter over this

world for us. Surely, God would not give us, the Household, both the Prophethood and the Caliphate.
Ali asked him: "Did any of God's Messenger's [other] companions witness this with you?"

Omar said: "God's Messenger's successor has spoken the truth. I [too] heard it from him as he has said." Abū ʿUbaydah, Abū Ḥudhayfah's freedman Sālim, and Muʿādh Ibn Jabal said: "We heard that from God's Messenger!"

فقال علي عليه السلام: لقد وفيتم بصحيفتكم التي تعاقدتم عليها في الكعبة ان قتل الله محمدا او مات لتزوون هذا الامر عنا اهل البيت. الحديث.[11]

Ali then said: "Yes, you have kept your covenant (*ṣaḥīfatikum*) that you made in the Kaʿbah: If God slays Muhammad or he dies [naturally], you would most certainly take this leadership away from us, [his] Household!"...

The second argument, on the Day of the Council formed by Omar to appoint his successor: Ibn Shahr Āshūb says in his *al-Manāqib*:

The consensus is that the eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah is the Day of Ghadīr Khumm: the Prophet ordered an announcer to call out: "Congregational prayer!" [When they had gathered,] he asked:

من اولى بكم من انفسكم؟ قالوا: الله ورسوله. فقال: اللهم اشهد.

"Who has most authority over you?" They replied: "God and His Messenger." So, he said: "O God! Bear witness." Then, he took Ali's hand and said:

من كنت مولاه فهذا علي مولاه. اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، وانصر من نصره، واخذل من خذله.

"Whoever's Master I am, so too is this Ali his Master; O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Help whoever helps him, and forsake whoever forsakes him."

This is corroborated by the fact that the Master of the Faithful referred to it when he was recounting his own virtues on that day in the home (*dār*), asking: "Is there anyone among you about whom God's Messenger said: 'Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master?'"

They—the majority (*jamhūr*) of the companions—replied: "No," conceding that.[12]

In his book *al-Manāqib*, the greatest orator of Khārazm, Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad, relates two hadiths from Abū Najīb Saʿd Ibn ʿAbdillāh Hamadānī Marwazī via two chains: 1) from Ḥāfiẓ Abū Ali Hasan Ibn Aḥmad, and 2) from Ḥāfiẓ Sulaymān Ibn Muhammad. They both relate from Abū Ṭufayl, ʿĀmir Ibn Wāthalah:

قال: كنت على الباب يوم الشورى مع علي في البيت وسمعته يقول لهم: لاحتجن عليكم بما لا يستطيع عربيكم ولا عجميكم تغيير ذلك، ثم قال: انشدكم الله ايها النفر جميعا افيكم احد وحد الله قبلي؟ قالوا: لا،

قال: فانشدكم الله هل منكم احد له اخ مثل جعفر الطيار في الجنة مع الملائكة؟ قالوا: اللهم، لا،

قال: فانشدكم الله هل فيكم احد له عم كعمي حمزة اسد الله واسد رسوله سيد الشهداء غيري؟

قالوا: اللهم لا،

قال: فانشدكم بالله هل فيكم احد له زوجة مثل زوجتي فاطمة بنت محمد سيدة نساء اهل الجنة غيري؟ قالوا: اللهم لا،

قال: انشدكم بالله هل فيكم احد له سبطان مثل سبطي الحسن والحسين سيدي شباب اهل الجنة غيري؟ قالوا: اللهم لا،

قال: فانشدكم بالله هل فيكم احد ناجى رسول الله مرات قدم بين يدي نجواه صدقة قبلي؟ قالوا: اللهم لا،

قال: فانشدكم بالله هل فيكم احد قال له رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، وانصر من نصره، واخذل من خذله، ليبلغ الشاهد الغائب غيري؟ قالوا: اللهم لا. الحديث مفصلا.[13]

[Abū Ṭufayl says:] On the Day of the Council, I was at the door with Ali in the house, and I heard him say to them: "I will argue on the basis of something that no Arab or non-Arab of yours can change!" He then said: "I adjure you by God, O all ye gathered here. Is there anyone among you who testified to God's Unity before I did?" They answered: "No." He asked: "I adjure you by God, is there anyone among you who has a brother like Jaʿfar flying in Heaven with the angels?!" They answered, "God, no!" He said: "I adjure you by God, is there anyone else but me among you who has an uncle like Ḥamzah, God's Lion, and His Messenger's Lion, the Master of the Martyrs?!" They answered, "God, no!"

He asked: "I adjure you by God, is there anyone else but me among you who had a wife like my wife, Fāṭimah, Muhammad's daughter, Heaven's First Lady?!" They answered, "God, no!" He asked: "I adjure you by God, is there anyone else but me among you who has two sons (*sibṭān*), like my sons, Hasan and Husayn, Heaven's Chief Youths?!" They answered, "God, no!"

He said: "I adjure you by God, is there anyone else among you who preceded me in repeatedly consulting confidentially with God's Messenger, giving charity before his consultation?!" They answered: "God, no!"

He said: "I adjure you by God, is there anyone else but me among you, about whom God's Messenger said: 'Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master! O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts Ali as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Help whoever helps him and forsake whoever forsakes him. Those present should pass this on to those who are absent'?" They answered: "God, no."

After quoting this argument from Khārazmī, ʿAllāmah Amīnī says: "Cited by Imam Ḥamwīnī, in *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*, section 58, on the authority of Tāj al-Dīn Ali Ibn al-Muḥibb Ibn ʿAbdillāh Khāzin, known as Ibn al-Sāʿī, via two chains from Khārazmī."[14]

What we found in *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn* is the Adjurement Hadith from during Othman's term, when the Master of the Faithful was telling a group of Quraysh about his virtues and achievements in the Prophet's Mosque. Ḥamwīnī relates it in chapter 58 of the first *Simṭ*.[15] It is not the adjurement from the Day of the Council.

In his exegesis, Fakhr Rāzī acknowledges that the Master of the Faithful referred to the Ghadīr Hadith as evidence on the Day of the Council. He says at the end of his commentary on the Guardianship Verse:

إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلاةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَاةَ وَهُمْ رَاكِعُونَ.

Your Guardian can only be God; His Messenger, and, those who believe, who establish prayer and give charity while bowing (5:55), which is the verse that the Shiʿa say was revealed about the Master of the Faithful, in which they say is a clear stipulation of his appointment as successor (*wilāyatihi*) when he gave his ring away to the beggar while bowing. [He says:]

Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib knew exegesis of the Qurʾan better than those Rāfiḍites,[16] and if this verse were indicative of his Imamate, he would have relied on it as evidence at a gathering. The Shiʿa cannot say that he did not rely on it because he was dissimulating, because they relate that

on the Day of the Council, he referred to the Ghadīr Hadith, the Prayer-Duel Hadith, and all his virtues and achievements; however, he did not rely on this verse at all to prove his Imamate.[17]

The author of *al-Ghadīr* quotes Ṭabarī as saying the exact same thing in his exegesis, volume 3, page 418.[18] However, he must have confused Ṭabarī with Fakhr Rāzī because Ṭabarī says no such thing. Nevertheless, Fakhr Rāzī does confirm that the Master of the Faithful relied on the Ghadīr Hadith on the Day of the Council. What [Fakhr Rāzī] says about the Guardianship Verse is his utmost effort to steer the verse away from the Master of the Faithful, which is completely wrong.

By God's praise and His strength, we discussed fully the Guardianship Verse and the background to its revelation about the Master of the Faithful, and refuted Fakhr Rāzī's argument, in *Knowing the Imams*, vol. 5, lessons 72–75. We also cited the occasions on which the Master of the Faithful relied on this verse as evidence. Praise be to God alone.

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd also relates the Master of the Faithful's reliance on the Ghadīr Hadith, on the Day of the Council, at the end of his commentary on the Imam's sermon as recorded in *Nahj al-Balāghah*—delivered when the members of the Council decided to pay homage to Othman.

The Imam said:

لقد علمتم انی احق بها من غیری: ووالله لاسلمن ما سلمت امور المسلمین، ولم یکن فیها جور الا علی خاصة، التماسا لاجر ذلك وفضله، وزهدا فیما تنافستموه من زخرفه وزبرجه[19]

"You have certainly realized that I am more entitled to it than anyone else. And by God, I will concede so long as the Muslims' affairs are in order and there is no unfairness in it apart from to me alone, seeking reward and grace for it [from God] and renouncing what you have competed over—its attractions and allurements."

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd says:

We cite here the widely reported (*ma [i]stafāḍa*) hadith concerning the Imam's adjurement of the other members of the Council and reference to his virtues, achievements, and unique characteristics through which he surpassed them and everyone else. People have narrated it at length. What is correct in our opinion is not a long list, but rather, when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAwf and those present pledged allegiance to Othman and the Master of the Faithful resisted, he said:

إنّ لنا حقا ان نعطه نأخذه وان نمنعه نركب اعجاز الابلِ وان طال السّرى.[20]

"Surely we have a right. If it is given to us, we will take it, but if we are deprived of it, we will ride on the ends of camels' [backs] even if it is a long night's journey!"

...as per biographers, some of whom we have already quoted above.

ثم قال: انشدكم الله: افيكم احد آخى رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله بينه وبين نفسه حيث آخى بين بعض المسلمين وبعض غيرى؟ قالوا: لا.

قال: افيكم احد قال له رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله: من كنت مولاه فهذا مولاه غيرى؟ قالوا: لا.

قال: افيكم احد قال له رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم: انت منى بمنزلة هارون من موسى الا انه لا نبى بعدى، غيرى؟ قالوا: لا.

قال: افيكم من اؤتمن على سورة براءة، وقال له رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله انه لا يؤدى عنى الا انا او رجل منى، غيرى؟ قالوا: لا.

قال: الا تعلمون ان اصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله فروا عنه فى مأقط الحرب فى غير موطن، وما فررت قط؟ قالوا: بلى.

قال: الا تعلمون انى اول الناس اسلاما؟ قالوا: بلى.

[The Imam] then said: "I adjure you by God, is there anyone else but me among you, whom God's Messenger made his brother when he made the Muslims brothers to each other?"

They replied: "No."

He asked: "I adjure you by God, is there anyone else but me among you, about whom God's Messenger said: 'Whoever's Master I am, so [too] is this [man] his Master'?"

They answered: "No."

He said: "I adjure you by God, is there anyone else but me among you, about whom God's Messenger said: 'You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no Prophet after me'?"

They answered: "No."

He said: "I adjure you by God, is there anyone else but me among you, who was put in charge of *Sūrat al-Barāʾah* ("An Acquittal") and about whom God's Messenger said: 'No one but myself or a man of my own [kind] can deliver on my behalf'?"

They said: "No."

He asked: "Do you know that God's Messenger's companions deserted him in the thick (*maʾqiṭ*)[21] of battle on many battlefields and I did not flee once?" They said: "Yes."

He asked: "Do you not know that I was the first person to embrace Islam?" They said: "Yes."

He then asked: "So, which of us is most closely related to God's Messenger?" They replied: "You." Thereupon, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAwf interrupted him and said:

يا علي ابى الناس الا على عثمان، فلا تجعلن على نفسك سبيلا.

"O Ali, these people refuse anyone else but Othman, so do not give way to your desire (*nafsik*)!"

The Imam then asked ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: "O Abū Ṭalḥah, what has Omar commanded you?"

He replied: "To kill whoever causes division among the community (*shaqq ʿaṣā al-jamāʿah*)!" He then told Ali: "So pledge allegiance. Otherwise you will not be following the path of the believers, and we will carry out what we have been ordered."

[The Imam stated]: "You have realized that I am more entitled to it than anyone else..." and so on, as cited above. He then stretched his hand out and pledged allegiance to Othman.[22]

Another narrator of the Master of the Faithful's reliance on the Ghadīr Hadith on the Day of the Council is Yūsuf Ibn Ḥātim Shāmī in *al-Durr al Naẓīm fi Manāqib al-Aʾimmat al-Lahāmīm*.[23]

He narrates from Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Mardawayh via another chain, not one of Khārazmī's, but in the exact same words. He says:

Abū al-Muẓaffar ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Ibn Ḥamad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Shīdhah al-Muqrī relates from ʿAbd al-Razzāq Ibn Omar Ṭahrānī, from Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Mūsā Ḥāfiẓ (Ibn Mardawayh), from Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abī Dām,[24] from Mundhir Ibn Muhammad, from his uncle, from his father, from Abān Ibn Taghlib, from ʿĀmir Ibn Wāthalah:

> On the Day of the Council I was at the door while Ali was inside the house, and I heard him say [word for word as per Khārazmī...]:
>
> قال: انشدکم بالله امنکم من نصبه رسول الله یوم غدیر خم للولایة غیری؟ قالوا: اللهم لا.[25]
>
> [The Master of the Faithful] said: "I adjure you by God, is there anyone else but me among you, whom God's Messenger appointed as leader on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm?" They replied: "O God, no!"

Shaykh Ṭūsī relates from Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ṣalt, from Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Saʿīd,[26] from Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ḥabībah Kindī, from Abū Ghaylān, from Saʿd Ibn Ṭālib Shībānī, from Isḥāq, from Abū Ṭufayl:

> On the Day of the Council, I was standing at the door and I heard Ali say:
>
> انشدکم بالله جمیعا هل فیکم احد صلی القبلتین مع رسول الله صلی الله علیه و آله غیری؟ قالوا: اللهم لا.
>
> "I adjure you all by God, is there anyone else but me among you, who prayed towards both *qiblahs* along with the God's Messenger?" They answered, "O God, no!"
>
> Then the Imam cited several of his unique virtues and feats by way of adjurement, eventually asking them:
>
> انشدکم بالله هل فیکم احد قال له رسول الله صلی الله علیه و آله من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، غیری؟ قالوا: اللهم لا.
>
> "I adjure you by God, is there anyone else but me among you, about whom God's Messenger said: 'Whoever's Master I am, so too is this Ali his Master. O God be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master, and be an enemy to whoever is his enemy'?" They said: "God, no."
>
> After this, he only adjured them regarding the Status Hadith and the Bird Hadith.[27]

Ibn Ḥajar Haythamī says:

> Dāraquṭnī relates that Ali made a lengthy statement to the six persons whom Omar had ordered to consult each other over [the appointment] of the leader. Part of it was:

انشدکر بالله: هل فیکم احد قال له رسول الله صلی الله علیه و آله: یا علی انت قسیم الجنة والنار یوم القیامة، غیری؟ قالوا: اللهم لا.[28]

"I adjure you by God, is there anyone else but me among you, about whom God's Messenger said: 'O Ali, you are the allocator of Heaven and Hell on the Day of Resurrection'?" They answered: "O God, no!"

Similarly Ibn Ḥajar says:

Dāraquṭnī relates that on the Day of the Council, Ali argued with the members of the Council as follows:

انشدکر بالله هل فیکم احد اقرب الی رسول الله صلی الله علیه و آله فی الرحم منی، ومن جعله صلی الله علیه و آله نفسه، وابناءه ابناءه، ونساءه نساءه، غیری؟ قالوا: اللهم لا.. الحدیث.[29]

"I adjure you by God, is there anyone else among you, more closely related by blood to God's Messenger than I, and whom he treated as his own self, whose sons are his sons and whose wives are his wives?!" They answered: "God, no!"

As we can see, Ibn Ḥajar only quotes these two paragraphs from Dāraquṭnī as appropriate but he does admit that the adjurement was very lengthy and these two were just part of it.

The third adducement is in a sermon delivered by the Master of the Faithful in the Prophet's Mosque during Othman's term as "Caliph." It was when two hundred people, some Migrants and some Supporters, were present in the Mosque and were talking about the virtues of the Quraysh and the Supporters, and they asked Imam Ali, who was among them, to make a speech. The Imam did so and began by recounting the Household's unique characteristics, especially his own. The gathering listened intently and confirmed what he said, including his reliance on the Ghadīr Hadith as evidence.

Shaykh al-Islam Ibrāhīm Ibn Muhammad Ḥamwīnī relates in *Farā'id al-Simṭayn* from Sayyid Nassābah Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid Ibn Fakhkhār Ibn Maʿd Mūsawī, may God bless him, from his father Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Fakhkhār Mūsawī, may God bless him, with a license to narrate from Shādhān Ibn Jibrā'īl Qummī, from Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad Dūristī, from his father Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Bābawayh Qummī, from Muhammad Ibn Hasan, from Saʿd Ibn ʿAbdillāh, from Yaʿqūb Ibn Yazīd, from Ḥammād Ibn ʿĪsā, from Omar Ibn Udhaynah, from Abān Ibn Abī ʿAyyāsh, from Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilālī:

During Othman's term as "Caliph," I saw Ali in God's Messenger's Mosque. A group were talking and revising [religious] science and jurisprudence. They mentioned the Quraysh, their merits, precedents, and migration, and what God's Messenger had said about their virtue, such as: "The Imams are from the Quraysh," "People are followers of the Quraysh," "The Quraysh are the leaders of the Arabs," "Do not vilify the Quraysh," "A Qarashī has the strength of two other men," "Whoever hates the Quraysh is hated by God," and "Whoever wants to humiliate the Quraysh will be humiliated by God."

They referred to the Supporters, their virtue, precedents, and assistance, and the praise given to them by God in His Book, and what the Prophet had said about them. They referred to what he had said about Saʿd Ibn ʿUbaydah and [Ḥanẓalah] washed [for burial] by the angels. They did not omit any of their merit until each community said "X and Y belong to us."

The Quraysh said: "God's Messenger, Ḥamzah, Jaʿfar, ʿUbaydah Ibn Ḥarth, Zayd Ibn Ḥārithah, Abū Bakr, Omar, Othmān, Abū ʿUbaydah, [Abū Ḥudhayfah's freedman] Sālim, and Ibn ʿAwf belong to us."

Neither group failed to name any pioneer. There were more than two hundred men in the circle, including Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAwf, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, Miqdād, Abū Dharr, Hāshim Ibn ʿUtbah, Ibn Omar, Hasan and Husayn, Ibn ʿAbbās, Muhammad Ibn Abī Bakr, and ʿAbdullāh Ibn Jaʿfar.

In the Helpers' circle were Ubayy Ibn Kaʿb, Zayd Ibn Thābit, Abū Ayyūb Anṣārī, Abū Maytham Ibn al-Tayyihān, Muhammad Ibn Maslamah, Qays Ibn Saʿd Ibn ʿUbaydah, Jābir Ibn ʿAbdillāh, Anas Ibn Mālik, Zayd Ibn Arqam, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Abī Awfā, Abū Laylā, and, sitting next to him, his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, a bright-faced beardless boy. Thereupon, Abū al-Hasan Baṣrī entered the Mosque, and with him, his son, Hasan, a beardless, bright-faced boy of medium height.

[Sulaym says:]

I began looking at the two of them (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Laylā and Hasan Ibn Abī al-Hasan) but could not make out which one was more handsome, except that Hasan was stronger and taller.

The people praised the Quraysh and the Helpers profusely—from morning to midday. Othman was at home, unaware of what they were up to; Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib was silent—neither he nor any of his Household speaking.

The people then turned to him and asked: "O Abū al-Hasan! What is stopping you from talking?"

[The Imam] replied: "No one in either community has failed to mention a virtue or speak the truth. But I ask you, O ye Quraysh and Supporters, through whom has God given you this superiority? Through yourselves and your clans and households or through others?"

They answered: "Actually, God gave us and blessed us via Muhammad and his clan, not through ourselves, or our households!"

[The Imam] said:

> You have spoken the truth, O ye Quraysh and Supporters! Have you not realized that whatever good you achieve in this world and the Hereafter comes from us, the Household, exclusively, no one else? And my paternal cousin, God's Messenger said:
>
> > My Household and I were a Light moving around in front of God fourteen thousand years before the creation of Adam. Then, when God created Adam, He placed that Light in his loins and sent him down to earth. Then He put it on the Ark in Noah's loins, and then He cast it into the Fire in Abraham's loins. Then Mighty and Exalted God continued transferring us from noble loins to chaste wombs, and from our mothers' chaste wombs to our forefathers' noble loins. None of them ever engaged in fornication!

Hearing what he had said, the earliest, foremost [Muslims], and Badr and Uḥud veterans, said: "Yes, we heard that from God's Messenger!"

Then Ali said: "I adjure you by God, do you know that Mighty and Exalted God has in many verses in His Book made a predecessor superior to a successor, and that no one in the nation preceded me to God or His Messenger?" They answered: "O God, yes!"

He said: "I adjure you by God, do you know that when *And the foremost, the first...* (9:100) and the verse *And the foremost are the foremost* (56:10) were revealed, God's Messenger was asked about it, so he replied: 'God revealed it about the prophets and their executors, and I am the best of God's prophets and messengers, and Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, my executor, is the best of executors!'?" They said: "God, yes!"

[The Imam] said:

> I adjure you by God, do you know when the verse

يا أيها الذين آمنوا اطيعوا الله واطيعوا الرسول واولى الامر منكم (4:59)

O you who believe! Obey God, and obey the Messenger and those of you who are in authority (4:59), the verse:

انما وليكم الله ورسوله والذين آمنوا الذين يقيمون الصلاة ويؤتون الزكاة وهم راكعون

(5:55)

Your guardian is only God, His Messenger and those who believe, establish the prayer, and give charity while they are bowing (5:55), and the verse

ام حسبتم ان تتركوا ولما يعلم الله الذين جاهدوا منكم ولم يتخذوا من دون الله ولا رسوله ولا المؤمنين وليجة

What! do you think that you will be left alone while God has not yet known those of you who have struggled hard and have not taken anyone as an adherent besides God and His Messenger and the believers (9:16) were revealed, the people asked: "O God's Messenger, exclusively about one believer or applicable to all of them?" Mighty and Exalted God then commanded His Prophet to teach them who was in charge of them, and to explain the Guardianship to them as he had taught them their prayer, almsgiving, and *ḥajj*, then to appoint me over the people at Ghadīr Khumm. He then delivered a sermon, saying: "God has sent me with a message with which my heart has become straitened. I have thought that the people would reject me, so He threatened me that I should deliver it or He would punish me." He then gave the order to announce: "Congregational prayer." Then he delivered a sermon, saying:

ايها الناس أتعلمون ان الله عز وجل مولاى وانا مولى المؤمنين وانا اولى بهم من انفسهم؟ قالوا: بلى يا رسول الله. قال: قم يا على، فقمت. فقال: من كنت مولاه فعلى هذا مولاه. اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه.

"O people! Do you know that God, Mighty and Exalted is He, is my Master and I am the Master of the believers, and I have greater authority over them than they have over their own selves?" They said: "Yes, God's Messenger!"

Then, he said: "Stand up, Ali," so I stood up. Thereupon, he said: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is this Ali his Master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy!"

Thereafter, Salmān stood up and asked:

يارسول الله! ولاء كماذا؟! فقال: ولاء كولايتي، من كنت اولى به من نفسه فعلي اولى به من نفسه!

"O God's Messenger, authority like what?" He replied: "Authority like mine! Over whomsoever I have greater authority than he has over his own self, so too does Ali have greater authority over him than he has over his own self!"

Thereafter, God, Exalted is His remembrance, revealed:

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الإِسْلامَ دِينًا.

This day have I perfected your religion for you and completed My favour unto you, and have chosen for you Islam as your religion (5:3).

When this verse was revealed, the Prophet said: "God is too Great [to be described]," and then said:

الله اكبر تمام نبوتي وتمام دين الله ولاية علي بعدي

"God is too Great [to be described]—the completion of my Prophethood, and the completion of God's religion: Ali's authority after me."

Thereafter, Abū Bakr and Omar stood up and asked: "O God's Messenger, are these verses exclusively about Ali?" The Prophet replied: "Yes, about him and my executors until the Day of Resurrection!" They said: "God's Messenger, make them clear to us."

The Prophet replied: "Ali my brother, aide, heir, executor, and successor in my nation and the master of every believer after me, then my scion, Hasan, then Husayn, then nine of Husayn's offspring—one after the other. The Qur'an is with them and they are with the Qur'an. They will not separate from it, and it will not separate from them until they come to me at the Pool."

They then all said: "God, yes, we have heard that, and equally testify to what you have said." One of them said: "We have remembered most of what you have said, but do not remember all of it! Those who do remember everything are the best of us and most superior among us."

The Imam then said: "You have spoken the truth. People do not all have the same level of recall. I adjure you by God, whoever remembers all that from God's Messenger should stand up and say so."

Thereafter, Zayd Ibn Arqam, Barā' Ibn ʿĀzib, Salmān, Abū Dharr, Miqdād, and ʿAmmār stood up and said:

We testify, we remember what the Prophet said when he was standing on the pulpit and you were beside him. He said:

> O people! God, Mighty and Exalted is He, has commanded me to appoint as your Imam and implementer among you for you, my executor and successor, obedience to whom the Mighty and Exalted God has imposed on the believers in His Book and linked to obedience to Him and obedience to me. He has commanded you to accept him as Master. Surely, I beseeched my Lord, fearing the criticism and rejection of the people of hypocrisy, but He warned me to deliver it—otherwise I would be punished!

He continued:

> O people! God has commanded you in His Book to pray and I have explained it to you, He has commanded almsgiving, fasting, and performance of *ḥajj*, and I explained and expounded them to you. He has also commanded you to accept the Guardianship, and I call you to witness that it is this man's alone,

[he said], resting his hand on Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib,

> then, his two sons', then the executors' after them from their offspring. They will not separate from the Qur'an and the Qur'an will not separate from them until they come to me at the Pool.
>
> O people! I have explained to you your refuge, leader, guide, and director after me, namely my brother Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. His status among you is like my status among you. Charge him with your religion and obey him in all your affairs. For he has all the knowledge and wisdom that God has taught me. Ask and learn from him and his executors after him. Do not [try to] teach them, overtake them, or straggle behind them, because they are with the truth and the truth is with them, their not separating from it nor its separating from them.

Then, they [all] sat down.

Sulaym says:

Ali then said:

> O people! Do you know that God revealed in His Book:
>
> إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا.

God only desires to put away any impurity from you, People of the Household, and to purify you (33:33) so he gathered me, Fāṭimah, and my sons Hasan and Husayn, and then cast a cloak over [all of] us and said: "O God! These are my Household and my flesh; whatever hurts them hurts me and whatever bothers them bothers me and whatever straitens them straitens me."

Umm Salamah then asked: "What about me, God's Messenger?" He replied: "You have a good future, but it was only revealed exclusively about me, (my daughter), my brother Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, my two scions, and nine of my scion Husayn's offspring—no one else shares it with us!"

They all then said: "We all testify that Umm Salamah told us that; we asked God's Messenger and he told us as [Umm Salamah] had told us."

Next Ali said:

I adjure you by God, do you know that God revealed

يا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اتَّقُوا اللهَ وَكُونُوا مَعَ الصَّادِقِينَ.

O you who believe! Fear God, and be with the truthful (9:119)?

Salmān then asked: "O God's Messenger! Is this general or particular?" So the Prophet replied: "As for the believers—all believers are commanded to do so, but the truthful are exclusively my brother, Ali, and my executors after him until the Day of Resurrection!" They said: "God, yes."

Ali said:

I adjure you by God, do you know that I asked God's Messenger with regard to the Battle of Tabūk: "Why did you leave me behind?" and he replied: "Medina is not right in order without me or you, and you are to me as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophet after me"? They said: "God, yes."

Ali said:

I adjure you by God, do you know that God revealed in *Sūrat al-Ḥajj*:

يا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا ارْكَعُوا وَاسْجُدُوا وَاعْبُدُوا رَبَّكُمْ وَافْعَلُوا الْخَيْرَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ

وَجَاهِدُوا فِي اللَّهِ حَقَّ جِهَادِهِ هُوَ اجْتَبَاكُمْ وَمَا جَعَلَ عَلَيْكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ مِنْ حَرَجٍ مِلَّةَ أَبِيكُمْ إِبْرَاهِيمَ هُوَ سَمَّاكُمُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ مِنْ قَبْلُ وَفِي هَذَا لِيَكُونَ الرَّسُولُ شَهِيدًا عَلَيْكُمْ وَتَكُونُوا شُهَدَاءَ عَلَى النَّاسِ فَأَقِيمُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَآتُوا الزَّكَاةَ وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِاللَّهِ هُوَ مَوْلَاكُمْ فَنِعْمَ الْمَوْلَى وَنِعْمَ النَّصِيرُ

O you who believe! Bow down and prostrate yourselves and serve your Lord, and do good deeds so that you may succeed.

And strive for God as is His due; He has chosen you and has not laid upon you any hardship in religion: the faith of your forefather Abraham; He called you Muslims before, and in this [Book] that the Messenger might be a witness to you, and you might act as witnesses to mankind.

So establish the prayer and give charity, and hold fast to God; He is your Guardian; how excellent the Guardian, and how excellent the Helper! (22:77–78)

So, Salmān stood up and asked: "O God's Messenger, who are these people to whom you are witness, and who are witnesses to everyone else, whom God has chosen and upon whom God has not laid any hardship in religion, and who follow the faith of Abraham?"

[God's Messenger] said three times: "He means by this just thirteen men to the exclusion of the rest of this nation: myself, my brother Ali, and eleven of my offspring."

They said: "God, yes."

Next, Ali said:

I adjure you by God: Do you know that God's Messenger delivered his last sermon [at Ghadīr Khumm] in which he said:

يا ايها الناس، انى تارك فيكم الثقلين: كتاب الله وعترتى اهل بيتى، فتمسكوا بهما لن تضلوا، فان اللطيف (الخبير) اخبرنى وعهد الى انهما لن يفترقا حتى يردا على الحوض.

"O people, I am leaving two precious things with you: God's Book and my Household; hold fast to them and you will not go astray; for the All-Subtle, the Knowing, has informed and promised me that these two will not separate from each other until they come to me by the Pool."

Then, as if angry, Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb stood up and asked: "All your Household?" The Prophet replied:

> No; however, my executors are from among my Household; the first of them is my brother, aide, heir, and successor in my nation, and the master, after me, of every believer.
>
> He is the first of them, then my scion Hasan, then my scion Husayn, then nine of Husayn's offspring, one after the other, until they come to me at the Pool. They are God's witnesses on earth, the proofs for His creatures, treasurers of His Knowledge, and repositories of His Wisdom. Whoever obeys them, obeys God, and whoever disobeys them disobeys God.

They all said: "We bear witness that God's Messenger said that."

Ali kept on asking, never failing to adjure [the people] and questioning them until he reached the last of his achievements and of what God's Messenger often said to him. They confirmed everything and testified it was true.[30]

Four: The Master of the Faithful's adjurement at Ruḥbah[31] at the beginning of his "political"[32] Caliphate, as is evident from Yaʿlā Ibn Murrah's "When the Master of the Faithful arrived in Kufa, he adjured the people." It is a well-known fact that the Imam arrived in Kufa in 35 AH at the beginning of his [political] Caliphate when he was informed that people had condemned him for narrating that the Prophet had elevated him above the others, and that his Caliphate was contested. He made an appearance before a crowd of people in the courtyard of Kufa Mosque and adjured them by the Ghadīr Khumm Hadith. This argument is very important, and has been widely (*mustafīḍah*) related in hadiths and referred to by erudite Shiʿa and Sunnis in their books, so much so, that they consider it to be historically indisputable. This sermon was delivered in the presence of various companions, successors, and social groups. It is a lengthy sermon that also addresses apocalyptic events and gives tidings of the future (*al-ghayb*).

Quoting Othman Ibn Saʿīd and Sharīk Ibn ʿAbdillāh, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd relates that as some people had informed Ali that people had condemned him, saying that God's Messenger had elevated him above and preferred him to other people, [the Imam] said:

انشد الله من بقي ممن لقي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسمع مقاله في يوم غدير خم الا قام فشهد بما سمع فقام ستة ممن عن يمينه من اصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وستة ممن على شماله من الصحابة ايضا فشهدوا انهم سمعوا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يقول ذلك اليوم وهو رافع بيدى على عليه السلام: من كنت مولاه فهذا على مولاه اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه وانصر من نصره واخذل من خذله واحب من احبه وابغض من ابغضه[33]

"I adjure whoever is still alive out of those who met God's Messenger and heard what he said on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm to stand up and bear witness to what he heard." Thereupon, six of God's Messenger's companions who were to his right and six to his left—also companions—stood up and bore witness that they had heard God's Messenger say while holding up Ali's hands, that day: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is this Ali his Master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy, assist whoever helps him, forsake whoever forsakes him, love whoever loves him, and hate whoever hates him."

Al-Sīraṭ al-Ḥalabiyyah says after setting out the Prophet's sermon at Ghadīr Khumm, announcing his demise to the audience, and bearing witness to God's Unity and the Resurrection:

ثم حض على التمسك بكتاب الله ووصى باهل بيته اى فقال: انى تارك فيكم الثقلين: كتاب الله وعترتى اهل بيتى، ولن يفترقا حتى يردا على الحوض: وقال فى حق على كرم الله وجهه لما كرر عليهم: ألست اولى بكم من انفسكم ثلاثا وهم يجيبونه صلى الله عليه (وآله) وسلم بالتصديق والاعتراف، ورفع صلى الله عليه (وآله) وسلم يد على كرم الله وجهه وقال: من كنت مولاه فعلى مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، واحب من احبه، وابغض من ابغضه، وانصر من نصره، واعن من اعانه، واخذل من خذله، وادر الحق معه حيث دار.

Here, the author of *al-Sīraṭ al-Ḥalabiyyah* says: "This sermon delivered by God's Messenger is the strongest proof that the Shi'a, Imāmiyyah, and Rāfiḍites have relied on [to prove] that Ali was more entitled than anyone else to the Imamate." They say: "This is an explicit instruction appointing him as leader that thirty companions heard and witnessed." They say: "Whatever authority God's Messenger had, the Master of the Faithful also had, as proven by God's Messenger's words: 'Do I not have greater authority over you?'"

Ḥalabī then says:

This hadith is authentic, narrated by authentic and good (*ḥisān*) chains. No attention should be paid to those, like Abū Dāwūd and Abū Ḥātim Rāzī, who doubt its authenticity, or to those who say that the extra part, "O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as leader..." is fabricated because it is narrated via routes many of which are considered to be authentic by Dhahabī.

The hadiths also say that Ali, God has honored his face, stood up to deliver a sermon, praised and glorified God, and then said:

انشدك الله من ينشد يوم غدير خم الا قام، ولا يقوم رجل يقول: انبئت او بلغني الا رجل سمعت اذناه ووعى قلبه

"I adjure you by God, whoever remembers the day of Ghadīr Khumm must stand up. No man who says: 'I have been informed of,' or 'such and such has reached me.' Only a man whose own ears heard and heart has remembered."

Seventeen companions stood up [and bore witness]. Another hadith says thirty companions. *Al-Muᶜjam al-Kabīr* (*The Great Encyclopedia*) says sixteen. Yet another hadith says twelve.

[The Master of the Faithful] told [those who stood up]: "Bring on what you heard." They cited the Ghadīr Hadith. Part of it was: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master." Another hadith says: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is this [man] his Master."

It is related that Zayd Ibn Arqam said: "I was one of those who kept silent, and God took my sight, Ali (God honored his face) having cursed whoever kept silent.[34]

It is clear that the hadith relied upon as evidence by the author of the biography is the argument presented by the Master of the Faithful at Ruḥbah [or in the courtyard].

With reference to books considered reliable by the Sunnis, ᶜAllāmah Amīnī says that twenty-four companions bore witness.

The Names of the Prophet's Companions Who Bore Witness to the Ghadīr Hadith at Ruḥbah

1. Abū Zaynab Ibn ᶜAwf Anṣārī;
2. Abū ᶜUmrah Ibn ᶜAmr Ibn Muḥṣin Anṣārī;

3. Abū Fuḍālah Anṣārī, who was martyred fighting for Ali at the Battle of Ṣiffīn;
4. Abū Qudāmah Anṣārī;
5. Abū Laylā Anṣārī, who was martyred at the Battle of Ṣiffīn; another version says Abū Yaʿlā Anṣārī, viz. Shaddād Ibn Aws (d. 58 AH);
6. Abū Hurayrah Dawsī (d. 57, 58, or 59 AH);
7. Abū Haytham Ibn Tayyihān, a Badr veteran, who was martyred at Ṣiffīn while fighting for the Master of the Faithful;
8. Thābit Ibn Wadīʿah Anṣārī Khazrajī Madanī;
9. Ḥubshī Ibn Junādah Sallūlī, who fought for Ali in all his battles;
10. Abū Ayyūb Khālid Anṣārī, a Badr veteran who was martyred while fighting against the Byzantines in the year 50, 51, or 52 AH;
11. Khuzaymah Ibn Thābit Anṣārī Dhū al-Shahādatayn [i.e. whose testimony is equivalent to two other men's], a Badr veteran who was martyred while fighting for the Master of the Faithful at Ṣiffīn;
12. Abū Shurayḥ: Khuwaylid Ibn ʿAmr al-Khuzāʿī (d. 68 AH);
13. Zayd, or Yazīd Ibn Sharāḥīl Anṣārī;
14. Sahl Ibn Ḥunayf Anṣārī Awsī, a Badr veteran (d. 38 AH);
15. Abū Saʿīd Khudrī: Saʿd Ibn Mālik Anṣārī (d. 63, 64, or 65 AH);
16. Abū al-ʿAbbās Sahl Ibn Saʿd Anṣārī (d. 91 AH);
17. ʿĀmir Ibn Abī Laylā;
18. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAbd Rabb Anṣārī;
19 ʿAbdullāh Ibn Thābit Anṣārī, God's Messenger's servant;
20. ʿUbayd Ibn ʿĀzib Anṣārī, one of the ten proselytizers, another of whom was ʿAmmār Ibn Yāsir, sent by Omar to Kufa;
21. Abū Ṭarīf ʿAdī Ibn Ḥātim, who died at the age of one hundred in 68 AH;
22. ʿAqabah Ibn ʿĀmir Jahānī (d. ca. 61 AH), who was related to Muʿāwiyah by marriage;
23. Nājiyah Ibn ʿAmr Khuzāʿī; and
24. Nuʿmān Ibn ʿUjlān Anṣārī, spokesperson of and poet to the Anṣār.

The Number of Witnesses Who Corroborated the Ghadīr Hadith at Ruḥbah

Then he says: "These are the most important witnesses who corroborated the Ghadīr Hadith for the Master of the Faithful when he adjured the people at Ruḥbah [or in the courtyard]." Imam Aḥmad [Ibn Ḥanbal] states that there were thirty witnesses that day. Ḥāfiẓ Haythamī quotes him and confirms this number in his *Majmaʿ*. You can find the same in Sibṭ Ibn Jawzī's *Tadhkirah*, p. 17, Suyūṭī's *Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ* (*History of the Caliphs*), p. 65, and *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3,

p. 308. Abū Nuʿaym Faḍl Ibn Dakīn says: "A large number of people stood up and bore witness."

We should note that this argument was presented in 35 AH, that is, twenty-five years after the Ghadīr Hadith was uttered. Obviously, many of the companions who had been present at Ghadīr Khumm had passed away during that time; some of them had been killed in battles, and many of them were dispersed in other towns and villages. Kufa is also a long way away from Medina, and at that time, during Ali's Caliphate, only a few loyal companions had moved with him to Kufa.

Moreover, this was a spontaneous act, so people could not travel to attend, bolstering the number of witnesses and narrators. There were also those who withheld evidence because of grudges or stupidity—as explained below.

However, in spite of these obstacles, there is still a large number of narrators, so how many would there have been had there been no such obstacles? We can see just how well-known and indubitable the Ghadīr Hadith was in those early days.

The discrepancy over the number of witnesses according to the hadith can be explained by the fact that every narrator just mentioned whomever he knew or was aware of or whoever was next to him, or mentioned those on both sides of the pulpit or to just one side without paying attention to who was on the other. Alternatively, a narrator may just have listed Badr veterans, or Supporters, or when people's voices were raised to testify, and eyes and ears were strained to see and hear and there was a lot of hubbub, as is normal in such gatherings, people overlooked certain others, and everyone just recalled whomever he could.[35]

The above were the number of and names of the witnesses. As for the narrators of the Adjuration Hadith to later generations, ʿAllāmah Amīnī records a total of eighteen of them—four companions and fourteen successors.

The companions were:

1. Ḥabbat Ibn Juwayn ʿAranī Abū Qudāmah Bajalī (d. 76 or 79 AH);
2. Zayd Ibn Arqam Anṣārī;
3. Abū Ṭufayl: ʿĀmir Ibn Wāthalah Laythī (d. 100, 102, 108, or 110 AH); and
4. Yaʿlā Ibn Murrah Ibn Wahab Thaqafī.

The successors were:

1. Abū Sulaymān Muʾadhdhin;
2. Abū al-Qāsim, Aṣbagh Ibn Nubātah;
3. Zādān Ibn Omar Kindī Bazzāz, or Bazzāz Kūfī;

4. Zirr Ibn Ḥubaysh, Asadī Abū Maryam;
5. Ziyād Ibn Abī Ziyād;
6. Zayd Ibn Yuthayᶜ Hamadānī Kūfī, a senior successor;
7. Saᶜīd Ibn Abī Ḥaddān, or Dhī Ḥaddān, Kūfī;
8. Saᶜīd Ibn Wahab Hamadānī Kūfī (d. 76 AH);
9. Abū ᶜUmayrah ᶜAbd Khayr Ibn Yazīd Hamadānī Kūfī Mukhaḍramī, a senior successor;
10. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Laylā (d. 82, 83, or 86 AH);
11. ᶜAmr Dhī Murrat Abū ᶜAbdillāh Kūfī Hamadānī (d. 116 AH);
12. ᶜUmayrah Ibn Saᶜd Hamadānī Kūfī;
13. Hānī Ibn Hānī Hamadānī Kūfī; and
14. Ḥārithah Ibn Naṣr.[36]

Shaykh al-Islam Ḥamwīnī relates via his chain from Saᶜīd Ibn Abī Ḥaddān and ᶜAmr Dhī Murr:

قال علی: انشد الله، ولا انشد الا اصحاب رسول الله سمع خطبة رسول الله صلی الله علیه و آله یوم غدیر خم. قال: فقام اثنا عشر رجلا ستة من قبل سعید وستة من قبل عمرو ذی مر فشهدوا: انهم سمعوا رسول الله صلی الله علیه و آله وسلم یقول: اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، وانصر من نصره، واخذل من خذله، وابغض من ابغضه[37]

Ali said: "I adjure by God, but adjure only God's Messenger's companions who heard God's Messenger's sermon on the day of Ghadīr Khumm.

[The narrator] said: "Twelve men stood up, six on the part of Saᶜīd Ibn Abī Ḥaddān, and six on the part of ᶜAmr Dhī Murr. They bore witness that they had heard God's Messenger say: 'O God! Be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master; and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Support whoever assists him, love whoever loves him, and hate whoever hates him.'"

Ḥamwīnī also relates via another chain, from Sammāk Ibn ᶜUbayd Ibn Walīd ᶜAnasī: "I went to see ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Laylā, and he told me that he witnessed Ali say at Ruḥbah [or in the courtyard]: 'I adjure by God [any] man who heard God's Messenger and witnessed the Day of Ghadīr Khumm not to fail to stand up. No one but someone who saw him should stand up.'"

He says:

Twelve men then stood up and said: "We saw and heard when he took Ali's hand and said:

اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه وانصر من نصره واخذل من خذله[38]

O God! Be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Support whoever assists him, and forsake whoever forsakes him.

Aḥmad, in his *Musnad*, narrates from Ali Ibn Ḥakīm Awdī, from Shurayk, from Abū Isḥāq, from Saʿīd Ibn Wahab and Zayd Ibn Yuthayʿ:

نشد علی الناس فی الرحبة: من سمع رسول الله صلی الله علیه وآله وسلم یقول یوم غدیر خم الا قام، قال: فقام من قبل سعید ستة، ومن قبل زید ستة، فشهدوا انهم سمعوا رسول الله صلی الله علیه (وآله) وسلم یقول لعلی رضی الله عنه یوم غدیر خم: ألیس الله اولی بالمؤمنین؟ قالوا: بلی، قال: من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه. اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه[39]

Ali adjured the people in Ruḥbah: "Whoever heard God's Messenger speak on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm should not fail to stand." Six then stood up on the part of Saʿīd and six on the part of Zayd. They then testified that they had heard God's Messenger say about Ali (may God be pleased with him) on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm: "Does God not have greatest authority over the believers?" They replied: "Yes!" He said: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy."

Ibn Kathīr Dimashqī quotes Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal verbatim, along with his chain of transmission.[40]

Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal also narrates via another chain from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Laylā:

شهدت علیا رضی الله عنه فی الرحبة ینشد الناس: انشد الله من سمع رسول الله صلی الله علیه (وآله) وسلم یقول یوم غدیر خم: من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه، لما قام فشهد، قال عبد الرحمن: فقام اثنا عشر بدریا کأنی انظر الی احدهم، فقالوا: نشهد: انا سمعنا رسول الله صلی الله علیه (وآله) وسلم یقول یوم غدیر خم: ألست اولی بالمؤمنین من انفسهم، وازواجی امهاتهم؟ قلنا: بلی یا رسول الله، قال: فمن کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه. اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه[41]

I witnessed Ali at Ruḥbah, adjuring the people: "I adjure by God whoever heard God's Messenger say on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm: 'Whoever's Master I am, so [too] is Ali his Master!' to stand up and testify."

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān says:

Thereupon twelve Badr veterans—and it is as if I can see one of them [now]—stood up as one and said: "We bear witness that on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, we heard God's Messenger say: 'Do I not have greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves, and are my wives not their mothers?'"

So they answered: "Yes, God's Messenger!" Then, he stated: "Thus, whoever's Master I am, so [too] is Ali his Master. O God! Be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy."

And in this hadith we see that the narrator says twelve witnesses, all Badr veterans, that is, elite companions who had the honor of fighting at the Battle of Badr. And it is as if now as I speak, I can see one of them, so the hadith is also specific as regards whom the narrator saw!

And once again, via another chain, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal narrates from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Laylā:

انه شهد عليا رضى الله عنه فى الرحبة قال: انشد الله رجلا سمع رسول الله صلى الله عليه (وآله) وسلم وشهد يوم غدير خم الا قام، ولا يقوم الا من قد رآه فقام اثنا عشر رجلا فقالوا: قد رأيناه وسمعناه حيث اخذ بيده يقول: اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه، وانصر من نصره، واخذل من خذله فقام الا ثلاثة لم يقوموا. فدعا عليهم فاصابتهم دعوته[42]

That he [i.e. Abū Laylā] witnessed Ali say in Ruḥbah: "I adjure by God any man who heard and witnessed God's Messenger on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm not to fail to stand. No one but someone who saw him should stand." Thereupon, twelve men stood up and said: "We saw and heard him when he took [Ali's] hand, saying: 'O, God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Help whoever helps him and forsake whoever forsakes him.'" They stood up, all except for three who did not stand up. [Ali] then cursed [those three] and his curse against them came true.

Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal relates via another chain from Abū Ṭufayl:

Ali gathered the people together at Ruḥbah, and then told them: "I adjure by God, any man who heard what God's Messenger said on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm not to fail to stand up."

Thereupon, thirty men stood up. Faḍl Ibn Dakīn (Abū Nuʿaym) says:

> A large number of people stood up and testified: God's Messenger had taken Ali's hand, saying to the people:

أتعلَمُون انی اولی بالمؤمنین من انفسهم؟ قالوا: نعم یا رسول الله، قال: من کنت مولاه فهذا مولاه. اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه. وقال ابو طفیل ناقل هذه الروایة: فخرجت وکان فی نفسی شیئا. فلقیت زید بن ارقم فقلت له: انی سمعت علیا رضی الله تعالی عنه یقول کذا وکذا. قال: فما تنکر؟! قد سمعت رسول الله صلی الله علیه (و آله) وسلم یقول ذلک له.[43]

> "Do you know that I have greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves?" They said: "Yes, O God's Messenger!" He said: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is this [Ali] his Master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy." Abū Ṭufayl, the narrator of this hadith, says: "I left and I had some [doubt] in my mind. Then, I met Zayd Ibn Arqam and I told him: 'I heard Ali say such-and-such.' Zayd asked: 'So what do you reject?! I heard God's Messenger say that about [Ali].'"

We should note that Zayd Ibn Arqam himself had denied and withheld evidence at that gathering. Therefore, due to the Imam's curse, he lost his sight. He would say: "This curse of Ali's afflicted me." However, time and again after that session, he himself related the event to those whose names history has passed on to us. Some of that is coming up in later lessons, God willing.

In *Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid*, Haythamī cites this exact same hadith via the exact same chain of transmission from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal.[44]

In *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, Nasāʾī narrates via his chain from Saʿd Ibn Wahab:

قال علی کرم الله وجهه فی الرحبة: انشد بالله من سمع رسول الله صلی الله علیه (و آله) وسلم یوم غدیر خم یقول: ان الله ورسوله ولی المؤمنین، ومن کنت ولیه فهذا ولیه. اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه وانصر من نصره.

> Ali (God honored his face) said at Ruḥbah: "I adjure by God, who heard God's Messenger say on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm: 'Surely God and

His Messenger are the Master (*wali*) of the Faithful. Whoever's Master I am, so too, is this [man] his Master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy and help whoever helps him.'" Saʿīd said: "To my side, six [men] stood up. And Zayd Ibn Munīʿ[45] said: 'Six [men] near me stood up and testified.'" ʿAmr Ibn Dhī Murr, in his hadith, adds: "Love whoever loves him and hate whoever hates him" to Ali's adjurement. Isrāʾīl relates it from Isḥāq from ʿAmr Ibn Dhī Murr.[46]

Similarly, Nasāʾī (Aḥmad Ibn Shuʿayb) narrates it from Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali, from Khalaf Ibn Tamīm, from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from ʿAmr Ibn Dhī Murr:

قال: شهدت عليا بالرحبة ينشد اصحاب محمد ايكم سمع رسول الله صلى الله عليه (و آله) وسلم يقول يوم غدير خم ما قال؟ فقام اناس فشهدوا انهم سمعوا رسول الله صلى الله عليه (و آله) وسلم يقول: من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه، واحب من احبه، وابغض من ابغضه، وانصر من نصره[47] وتفرق بين المؤمن والكافر.[48]

[He said:] I witnessed Ali in the courtyard asking Muhammad's companions: "Which of you heard God's Messenger say what he said on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm?" Some people stood up and bore witness that they had heard God's Messenger say: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy, love whoever loves him, hate whoever hates him, help whoever helps him, and make a distinction between the believers and unbelievers."

Via a single unbroken chain, Nasāʾī quotes ʿAmr Ibn Saʿd as saying that he heard Ali adjure in the courtyard:

من سمع رسول الله صلى الله عليه (و آله) وسلم يقول: من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه، فقام ستة نفر فشهدوا.[49]

"Who heard God's Messenger say: 'Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master'?" Twelve men then got up and testified.

He narrates another hadith, which means the same, via another chain from Saʿīd Ibn Wahab and Yazīd Ibn Yuthīʿ,[50] and via another chain from Zayd Ibn Yuthīʿ.[51]

In his biographical note on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAbd Rabb Anṣārī, Ibn Athīr Jazarī narrates in *Usd al-Ghābah* that the Ḥāfiẓ Ibn ʿUqdah narrated from Aṣbagh Ibn Nubātah:

نشد علی الناس فی الرحبة من سمع النبی صلی الله علیه (و آله) وسلم یوم غدیر خم ما قال الا قام، ولا یقوم الا من سمع رسول الله صلی الله علیه (و آله) وسلم یقول. فقام بضعة عشر رجلا، فیهم ابو ایوب الانصاری، وابو عمرة بن عمرو بن محصن، وابو زینب، وسهل بن حنیف وخزیمة بن ثابت، وعبد الله بن ثابت الانصاری، وحبشی بن جنادة السلولی، وعبید بن عازب الانصاری، والنعمان بن عجلان الانصاری، وثابت بن ودیعة الانصاری، وابو فضالة الانصاری، وعبد الرحمن بن عبد رب الانصاری، فقالوا:

نشهد انا سمعنا رسول الله صلی الله علیه (و آله) وسلم یقول: الا ان الله عزوجل ولیی، وانا ولی المؤمنین. الا فمن کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه. اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، واحب من احبه، وابغض من ابغضه، واعن من اعانه. اخرجه ابو موسی.[52]

[Aṣbagh says]: In the courtyard, Ali adjured the people: "Whoever heard what God's Messenger said on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm should stand up, but no one who did not [directly] hear God's Messenger say [so] should stand up."

Thereupon a few more than ten people stood up, including Abū Ayyūb Anṣārī, Abū ʿUmrah Ibn ʿAmr Ibn Muḥṣin, Abū Zaynab, Sahl Ibn Ḥunayf, Khuzaymah Ibn Thābit, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Thābit Anṣārī, Ḥubshī Ibn Junādah Sallūlī, ʿUbayd Ibn ʿĀzib Anṣārī Nuʿmān Ibn ʿUjlān Anṣārī, Thābit Ibn Wadīʿah Anṣārī, Abū Fuḍālah Anṣārī, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAbd Rabb Anṣārī, and said:

> We bear witness that God's Messenger said:
>
> الا ان الله عزوجل ولیی، وانا ولی المؤمنین. الا فمن کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه. اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، واحب من احبه، وابغض من ابغضه، واعن من اعانه.
>
> "Lo, Mighty and Exalted God is my Master and I am the Master (*walī*) of the Faithful. Lo, whoever's Master I am, so too, is Ali his Master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy, love whoever loves him, hate whoever hates him, and help whoever helps him."

Abū Mūsā cites this hadith.

Moreover, Ibn Athīr relates in his biographical note on Abū Zaynab Ibn ʿAwf Anṣārī that Aṣbagh Ibn Nubātah said:

نشد علی الناس: من سمع رسول الله صلی الله علیه (و آله) وسلم یقول یوم غدیر خم ما قال الا قام.
فقام بضعة عشر فیهم ابو ایوب الانصاری، وابو زینب، فقالوا: نشهد انا سمعنا رسول الله صلی الله
علیه (و آله) وسلم واخذ بیدك یوم غدیر خم فرفعها، فقال:
ألستم تشهدون انی قد بلغت و نصحت؟ قالوا: نشهد انك قد بلغت و نصحت، قال: الا ان الله عز وجل
ولیی وانا ولی المؤمنین، فمن کنت مولاه فهذا علی مولاه. اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه،
واحب من احبه، واعن من اعانه، وابغض من ابغضه. اخرجه ابو موسی.[53]

Ali adjured the people: "Whoever heard God's Messenger say what he said on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm should stand up." Thereupon, a few more than ten stood up, including Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī and Abū Zaynab. They then said: "We testify that we heard God's Messenger say, having seized your hand on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm: 'Do you not testify that I have delivered and advised? Well, whoever's Master I am, so too is this Ali his Master! O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Love whoever loves him, help whoever helps him, and hate whoever hates him.'" Abū Mūsā cites this. Ibn Ḥajar ʿAsqalānī narrates a similar hadith from Ibn ʿUqdah via two chains from Aṣbagh Ibn Nubātah.[54]

Ibn Athīr, in his biographical note on Abū Qudāmah Anṣārī, narrates via a chain from Abū Ṭufayl:

We were with Ali, and he said: "I adjure by God, the Exalted, anyone who witnessed the Day of Ghadīr Khumm to stand up." Thereupon seventeen men including Abū Qudāmah Anṣārī, stood up and said:

> We were returning from the Farewell Pilgrimage with God's Messenger, and around noon, God's Messenger emerged and ordered [branches of] trees to be tied together, and covered with clothing. He then announced the prayer. We emerged and prayed. God's Messenger then stood up, praised and glorified God, and then said:
>
> ایها الناس، أتعلمون ان الله عز وجل مولای وانا مولی المؤمنین، وانی اولی بکم من
> انفسکم؟ یقول ذلك مرارا. قلنا: نعم وهو آخذ بیدك، یقول: من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه.
> اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه. ثلاث مرات.
>
> "People! Do you know that Mighty and Exalted God is my Master, I am the Master (*walī*) of the Faithful, and I have greater authority over you than you have over your own selves?" He said that several times. We replied: "Yes," while he was taking your hand, saying: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master. O God, be a

Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy," three times.

ᶜAdwī says:

Abū Qudāmah, the narrator of the hadith, is the son of Ḥārith. He was an Uḥud veteran who defied death. He lived until he was martyred at the Battle of Ṣiffīn while fighting for Ali. He had no children. His lineage is said to be Abū Qudāmah Ibn Ḥārith of Banī ᶜAbd Manāt, from Banī ᶜUbayd. It is said in the alternative: Abū Qudāmah Ibn Sahl Ibn Ḥārith Ibn Juᶜdabah Ibn Thaᶜlabah Ibn Sālim, Ibn Mālik Ibn Wāqif. Abū Mūsā cites his hadith and lineage as such.[55]

Ibn Ḥajar ᶜAsqalānī narrates this hadith from Ibn ᶜUqdah in *al-Muwālāt fi Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr*.[56]

Ibn Athīr also narrates the same hadith from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, in his biographical note on the Master of the Faithful via his chain from ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Laylā, which is the same hadith cited on the authority of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal *supra*: "Ibn Abī Laylā would say: "Twelve Badr veterans stood up and bore witness, and it is as if I can see one of them now wearing trousers (*sārawīl*)." He says at the end:

Barā' Ibn ᶜĀzib narrates a similar hadith, and adds:

Thereafter, Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said:

يابن ابی طالب، اصبحت الیوم ولی کل مؤمن.[57]

"O son of Abū Ṭālib, today you have become the Master of every believer."

And via his chain from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal from Abī Laylā, Shaykh al-Islam Ḥamwīnī narrates the exact same hadith.[58]

In *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl*, Mullā Ali Muttaqī relates this hadith from Ibn Abī Laylā, and adds:

وکتم قوم، فما فنوا من الدنیا الا عموا وبرصوا.[59]

"A group of people withheld evidence, and did not leave the world without going blind or contracting leprosy."

In his biographical note on Nājiyah Ibn ᶜAmr, Ibn Athīr narrates from Abū Nuᶜay, and Abū Mūsā Madā'inī, via their chain from ᶜAmr Ibn ᶜAbdillāh Ibn Yaᶜlā, Ibn Murrah, from his father and from his grandfather Yaᶜlā:

I heard God's Messenger say:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه. اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه.

"Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master. O God! Be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy."

When Ali arrived in Kufa, he adjured the people and a few more than ten people stood up and bore witness including Abū Ayyūb Anṣārī, the owner of the home where God's Messenger had stayed when he arrived in Medina, and Nājiyah Ibn ʿAmr Khuzāʿī.[60]

Ibn Ḥajar ʿAsqalānī also narrates it from *al-Muwālāt* by Ibn ʿUqdah.[61]

Abū Nuʿaym Iṣfahānī, via his chain from ʿUmayrah Ibn Saʿd, relates that he said:

I witnessed Ali atop the pulpit, adjuring God's Messenger's companions, including Abū Saʿīd, Abū Hurayrah, and Anas Ibn Mālik, who were around the pulpit. Ali then said:

نشدتكم بالله هل سمعتم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يقول: من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه؟ فقاموا كلهم فقالوا: اللهم نعم. وقعد رجل، فقال: ما منعك ان تقوم؟ قال: يا امير المؤمنين، كبرت ونسيت

فقال: اللهم ان كان كاذبا فاضربه ببلاء حسن، قال: فما مات حتى رأينا بين عينيه نكتة بيضاء، لا تواريها العمامة.[62]

I adjure you by God, did you hear God's Messenger say:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه؟

"Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master"?

They all stood up and said: "Yes, by God!" but one man remained seated. [The Imam] then asked: "What stopped you from standing up?" He replied: "O Master of the Faithful, I have grown old and forgotten."

Thereafter, [the Imam] said: "O God! If he is lying, visit upon him a good affliction!" [The narrator of the incident, ʿUmayrah Ibn Saʿd,] says: "He did not die until we noticed a white spot between his eyes that could not be covered by a turban!"

This man, as per many narrations, was Anas Ibn Mālik, and that big white spot on his face was a symptom of leprosy. It happened to be just between his eyes and made him so ugly that he had to try to cover it with his turban.

After quoting this hadith from Abū Nuʿaym's *Ḥilyah*, ʿAllāmah Amīnī says in the footnote:

> The word "good" [as the Imam said: "Visit upon him a good affliction"] was added by the narrators or the copyists, because the man's, i.e. Anas's, affliction, as explained by all the other hadiths—either blindness or leprosy—was a punishment for him for the audacity of his false claim to have forgotten as a result of old age, so how could it be a "good" affliction?
>
> That illness meant a disgrace, which was something Anas always admitted to.[63]

In *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ* Shaykh Sulaymān Qundūzī Ḥanafī also relates a detailed hadith from Abū Nuʿaym Iṣfahānī, from Abū Ṭufayl, about the Master of the Faithful's reliance on the Ghadīr Hadith as evidence, and his adjurement [of the companions] in the courtyard incident. He mentions seventeen companions who testified, including Khuzaymah Ibn Thābit, Sahl Ibn Saʿd, ʿAdī Ibn Ḥātim, ʿAqabah Ibn ʿĀmir, Abū Ayyūb Anṣārī, Abū Saʿīd Khudrī, Abū Shurayḥ Khuzāʿī, Abū Qudāmah Anṣārī, Abū Laylā, and Abū al-Haytham Ibn al-Tayyihān. And then those great companions bore witness to the details of the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, God's Messenger's quasi-testamentary instruction concerning the two precious things, God's Book and the Household, as well as the leadership (*al-walāyah*).[64]

Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad says:

> The preacher (Khaṭīb) of Khārazm narrates via his chain from Saʿīd Ibn Wahab and ʿAbd Khayr that they mentioned the Master of the Faithful's adjurement and companions' response as follows:
>
> فقام عدة من اصحاب النبي صلى الله عليه وآله
>
> "So several of the Prophet's companions stood up." They related the *muwālāt* Hadith.[65]

And then, he says:

> يقال: نشدتك الله، وناشدتك الله، وانشدتك بالله، اى سألتك به وطلبت اليك. وهو مجاز قولهم: نشد الضالة ينشدها اذا طلبها. وانشدها اذا عرفها.[66]

One can say:

نشدتك الله

nashadtuk Allah or

ناشدتك الله

nāshadtuk Allah or

انشدتك بالله

anshadtuka billāh. They all mean: "I adjure you by [God] or I beseech you." It is metaphorical. [The Arabs] say:

نشد الضالة

nashada al-ḍāllah meaning "He searched for the lost animal," and

انشدها

anshadahā when he finds it.

In his biographical note on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Mudlij, Ibn Athīr narrates via his chain from Abū Ghaylān Saʿd Ibn Ṭālib, from Abū Isḥāq, from ʿAmr Ibn Dhī Murr, Yazīd Ibn Yuthīʿ, Saʿīd Ibn Wahab, and Hānī Ibn Hānī. Abū Isḥāq says:

> More people than I can reckon have told me that Ali adjured the people in the courtyard:
>
> > Who heard God's Messenger say:
> >
> > من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه. اللهم وال من والاه
> >
> > "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master"?
>
> Thereafter, some of them stood up and bore witness that they had heard that from God's Messenger:
>
> وكتم قوم فماخرجوا من الدنيا حتى عموا واصابتهم آفة، منهم يزيد بن وديعة وعبد الرحمن بن مدلج. اخرجه ابو موسى.[67]
>
> But some people withheld evidence, and did not leave the world without going blind or being afflicted by some disease. They included Yazīd Ibn Wadīʿah and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Mudlij. Abū Mūsā narrates.

Now we have reached the end of our discussion on the argument presented in the courtyard. We have gone into such detail because it is more important than all the other arguments, is more reliable, and can be found in more sources. We cannot find a single book on hadith, history, or biography that fails to address the argument presented in the courtyard at Kufa. Therefore, it is stronger evidence because it has been approved by historians and biographers.

This is especially so because we quoted exclusively from Sunni books, so our Shi'a brothers can see their opponents' approval of it and our Sunni brothers can see that these matters can even be found in sources considered to be reliable by them—the truth will be obvious though the majority oppose it.

Such is the truth, and the truth is worthier of being followed. In spite of this chain, and the clear meaning of the Ghadīr Hadith, Omar said when his appointed time was nigh: "If Abū 'Ubaydah Jarrāḥ were alive, I would appoint him as successor, and tell my Lord on the Day of Resurrection: 'Your Messenger said: "This is the nation's custodian."'"

How can he have forgotten the unending ocean of virtues of and achievements by the Master of the Faithful that God's Messenger had spoken of? Had Omar really forgotten, or was he just pretending to have forgotten?! Every single one of those virtues is worth a thousand such utterances as "This is the nation's custodian,"[68] assuming the Prophet even said it in the first place. Moreover, the prophetic hadiths on Ali's virtues and achievements are much clearer and more reliable, and evidentially they are far stronger. Could Omar not tell his Lord on the Day of Resurrection:

> I appointed Ali as successor, because I heard with these two ears of mine and saw with my own two eyes that the Prophet lifted Ali onto the pulpit, took his hand, and said to all the Muslims, both Migrants and Supporters:
>
> من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه. اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، وانصر من نصره، واخذل من خذله، واعن من اعانه، واحب من احبه وابغض من ابغضه؟!
>
> "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master; O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Assist whoever assists him, and forsake whoever forsakes him, help whoever helps him, love whoever loves him, and hate whoever hates him"?
>
> As I, myself, said that Day:
>
> بخ بخ لك يا بن أبي طالب! اصبحت مولاي ومولى كل مؤمن ومؤمنة
>
> "Bravo, bravo, son of Abū Ṭālib, you have become my Master and the Master of every believer, male or female," conceding the leadership, command, governance, and greater entitlement to enjoin and forbid rule, decide policy and business affairs, to him, so I cannot break my covenant. Thus, I appoint him as successor and indeed repent to God and apologize for having previously usurped the Caliphate.

The Fifth Adducement of the Ghadīr Hadith was when the Master of the Faithful relied on it at the Battle of the Camel, against Ṭalḥah and Zubayr. It was because those two had broken their pledge of allegiance, and, motivated by love of power, they moved towards Basra to lend support to Ayishe, the Prophet's wife, who was the leader of the army. And, giving in to the incitement by their sons, Muhammad Ibn Ṭalḥah and ʿAbdullāh Ibn Zubayr, who were Ayishe's nephews, they recruited a twelve-thousand-strong army under the pretext of avenging Othman and set out for Basra. Shortly after they arrived, they began murdering the people, and arrested the Master of the Faithful's appointed governor, Othman Ibn Ḥunayf, ripped out his beard, tortured him, and wanted to kill him, but feared the ferocity of his brother, Sahl Ibn Ḥunayf, who was in Medina.

When the opposing armies were arrayed and standing face to face, the Master of the Faithful did not start the war, and instead implored both Ṭalḥah and Zubayr individually in the center of the battle-field, proving to them why they should not fight. The account is lengthy, so we content ourselves with the reference to and reliance on the Ghadīr Hadith as evidence.

The great memorizer (*ḥāfiẓ*) [of hadiths], Abū ʿAbdillāh Muhammad, known as Ḥākim Nīshābūrī (d. 405 AH), narrates in *Mustadrak* via his chain from Rifāʿat Ibn Ayās Ḍabbibī, from his father, from his grandfather:

قال: كنا مع علي يوم الجمل فبعث الى طلحة بن عبيد الله ان القني. فاتاه طلحة، فقال: نشدتك الله هل سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يقول: من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه؟ قال: نعم: قال: فلم تقاتلني؟! قال: لم اذكر: قال: فانصرف طلحة.[69]

Rifāʿat Ibn Ayās's grandfather says:

> We were with Ali at the Battle of the Camel, and Ali sent to Ṭalḥah Ibn ʿUbaydillāh, saying: "Meet me." Ṭalḥah came to [Ali] and [Ali] told him:
>
> > I adjure you by God, did you hear God's Messenger say:
> >
> > من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه؟!
> >
> > "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master; O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy"?
>
> [Ṭalḥah] said: "Yes." [Ali] asked: "So why are you fighting me?"

[Ṭalḥah] said: "I don't remember!" [Rifāʿah's grandfather] says: "Ṭalḥah then went away."

Khārazm's chief orator, Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad, narrates the same hadith via the same chain from Ḥākim Nīshābūrī, Ḥāfiẓ Abū ʿAbdillāh, adding at the end:[70] "Ṭalḥah then went away without answering."

Sibṭ Ibn Jawzī narrates as follows:

وفی روایة ان علیا علیه السلام قال لطلحة: نشدتك الله! الم تسمع رسول الله صلی الله علیه (وآله) وسلم یقول: من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه؟! قال: بلی والله. ثم انصرف عنه.[71]

One hadith says that Ali said to Ṭalḥah: "I adjure you by God, did you not hear God's Messenger say: 'Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master'?"

[Ṭalḥah] replied: "Yes, by God." He then turned away from him.

Haythamī narrates this hadith via Bazzāz[72] and Ibn Ḥajar ʿAsqalānī [narrates] from Nasāʾī.[73]

Abū al-Hasan Ali Ibn Husayn Masʿūdī (d. 346 AH) says that when [the Imam] had finished his argument with Zubayr:

نادی علی رضی الله عنه طلحة حین رجع الزبیر: یا ابامحمد! ما الذی اخرجك؟! قال: الطلب بدم عثمان!

قال علی: قتل الله اولانا بدم عثمان. اما سمعت رسول الله یقول: اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه؟ وانت اول من بایعنی ثم نکثت، وقد قال الله عز وجل: «ومن نکث فانما ینکث علی نفسه» قال: استغفر الله. ثم رجع.[74]

When Zubayr returned, Ali called Ṭalḥah and asked: "Abū Muhammad, what has made you rebel?" Ṭalḥah replied: "Vengeance for Othman." Ali said:

> May God smite those most responsible among us for Othman's death. Did you not hear God's Messenger say: "O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts Ali as Master, and an enemy to whoever is [Ali's] enemy"?! You were the first to pledge allegiance to me but then you reneged! The Mighty and Exalted God says: *So, whoever breaks his oath, breaks it only to his own detriment!* (10:48).

Ṭalḥah replied: "I seek God's forgiveness." He then returned.

The Master of the Faithful's argument with Zubayr and the latter's return was a little different, according to Masʿūdī:

After the two armies were arrayed, Ali sat bareheaded and unarmed on God's Messenger's camel, and called out: "O Zubayr! Come out to me." Zubayr, doubting, emerged armed.

Ayishe was informed, and so she said:

واثكلك يا اسماء.[75]

Oh what bereavement [over the loss] of your [child], O Asmāʾ!

And when they told her that Ali was bareheaded and unarmed, she calmed down. [Ali and Zubayr] embraced each other, and then Ali asked him: "Woe on you, O Zubayr! What has made you rebel?" Zubayr said: "Vengeance for Othman!" [The Imam] said:

> May God smite those of us most responsible for Othman's death! Do you not remember the day when I met God's Messenger among the Banī Bayāḍah? He was riding on his donkey, and he smiled at me and I smiled at him. You were with him and you said: "God's Messenger! Ali never stops joking!" [The Prophet] told you: "Ali doesn't joke!" He then asked: "O Zubayr, do you like Ali?" You answered: "Yes, I do. By God, I surely do like him." Then, he told you: "By God, you will fight him, doing him wrong!"

Zubayr said: "I seek God's forgiveness. By God, if I had remembered it, I would never have rebelled!"

[The Imam] said to him: "Zubayr turn back!" [Zubayr] answered: "How can I turn back now? The links on the saddlestrap (*biṭān*) have already been fastened.[76] This, by God, is disgrace that cannot be washed away!"

[The Imam] said: "O Zubayr! Turn back in disgrace rather than both being disgraced and going to Hell!" Thereafter, Zubayr turned back saying:

اخترت عارا على نار مؤججة ما ان يقوم لها خلق من الطين 1

نادى علي بأمر لست اجهله عار لعمرك في الدنيا وفي الدين 2

فقلت: حسبك من عذل اباحسن 3

فبعض هذا الذي قد قلت يكفيني.[77]

1. I have chosen disgrace over a flaming hell
Which a man of clay cannot tolerate!

2. Ali called out something that I am not unaware of
A disgrace, upon your life, in this world and the next.

3. I said: "Enough reproach, Abū-al-Hasan; just some of what you have said suffices me!"

Masʿūdī says:

Then after the discussion that ensued between Zubayr and his son about ʿAbdullāh, and the courage he had shown on the battlefield [by not fighting and leaving the battlefield], he moved onward until he reached Wādī al-Sibāʿ. Aḥnaf Ibn Qays was among his tribe, the Banī Tamīm. Someone came to him to report that he had seen Zubayr passing by. Aḥnaf said: "What shall I do with Zubayr? He has gathered together two great groups of men to kill each other, but he is now going safely home!"

Thereafter, a group of Banī Tamīm went after Zubayr, ʿAmr Ibn Jurmūz ahead of them. Zubayr had dismounted to pray, so [ʿAmr] asked him: "Will you lead me [in prayer], or shall I lead you?" Zubayr led him. Thereupon, ʿAmr Ibn Jurmūz killed him while he was praying. [Zubayr] was seventy-five. It is said that Aḥnaf Ibn Qays ordered one of his men to kill him.

ʿAmr Ibn Jurmūz took Zubayr's head, ring, and sword to the Master of the Faithful. (Some say he did not take his head.) The Imam said:

سيف طالما جلا الكرب عن (وجه) رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله لكنه الحين ومصارع السوء، وقاتل ابن صفية في النار.[78]

"A sword that often kept harm away from God's Messenger['s face]. Now however, Ṣafiyyah's son, all those slain evilly and his murderer are all in Hell!"

That is because Ibn Jurmūz assassinated Zubayr. Backstabbing and assassination—known as *ightiyāl* in modern Arabic—are unlawful in Islam. Apart from that, he acted alone in killing Zubayr, without the Imam's permission. Zubayr had retreated from the battlefield and was going his own way, so what lawful excuse did Ibn Jurmūz have for killing Zubayr without the Imam's permission?

As for Ṭalḥah's fate, he was busy fighting alongside a number of his cohorts, and was ordering the army to stand firm, until Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam, who was on the same side, fired an arrow at his knee, causing him to bleed to death. Later on, Marwān said: "I knew that Ṭalḥah was

one of those who incited the people to kill Othman, so he was one of the causes of his death. I did not see a better opportunity than that day to kill him. So I fired an arrow at him and killed one of the murderers of Othman."

Yaʿqūbī says:

Ṭalḥah Ibn ʿUbaydillāh was killed in battle. Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam fired an arrow at him, putting him on the ground. He said: "I will not seek to avenge Othman after today. I have killed [Ṭalḥah]!"

As Ṭalḥah fell to the ground, he said: "By God, I have never seen a chief of the Quraysh more lost than I today. Surely, by God, I have never stood on a battlefield without knowing my footing, except this battlefield."[79]

Masʿūdī says: "When Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam saw Ṭalḥah on the battlefield, he said: "It makes no difference to me whether I kill him here or there [in Ali's army or Basra's]," so he shot Ṭalḥah in the knee and killed him.[80]

The sixth adducement took place in 36 or 37 AH in Kufa. To explain, a group of the people went to the Master of the Faithful and said: "Peace be upon you, O our master (*mawlānā*)." The Imam asked: "How can I be your master when you are Arabs?" (*Mawlā* means master, owner of slaves and slave girls, captor of a prisoner of war, and so on. As Arabs, and not my prisoners of war or slaves, how can you see me as master?) "Why should you call me master?" They answered: "On the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, we heard God's Messenger say: 'Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master.'"

In *Kashf al-Ghummah*, Ali Ibn ʿĪsā Irbilī relates some hadiths on the Master of the Faithful's virtues, on the authority of Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Mūsā. He starts by saying:

واما ماروا ه الحافظ ابو بكر احمد بن موسى بن مردويه فانا اذكره على سياقته، وما توفيقي الا بالله عليه توكلت واليه انيب.[81]

"And as for what Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Mūsā Mardawayh says, I shall cite it in context and I can only be successful with God. I rely on Him and turn repentantly to Him." He then starts citing the virtues, ultimately saying:

There is a hadith from Riyāḥ Ibn Ḥarth[82] that says:

I was with the Master of the Faithful in the courtyard when a small caravan came to the courtyard to stop a while. They then approached on foot, came up to Ali and said:

السلام عليك يا امير المؤمنين ورحمة الله وبركاته

"Peace, God's mercy and blessings be upon you, Master of the Faithful." [The Imam] asked: "Who are you men?" They replied: "Your servants, O Master of the Faithful!"

Riyāḥ says:

I looked at the Master of the Faithful, who was smiling. He asked:

من اين وانتم قوم عرب؟

"How so when you are Arabs?"

They replied:

On the Day of Ghadīr, we heard God's Messenger say, while holding your upper arm:

ايها الناس، ألست اولى بالمؤمنين من انفسهم؟! قلنا: بلى يا رسول الله، فقال: ان الله مولاى، وانا مولى المؤمنين، وعلى مولى من كنت مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه.[83]

"O people! Do I not have greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves?!" We said: "Yes, O God's Messenger." Then, he said: "Surely, God is my Master and I am the Master of the believers and Ali is the Master of anyone whose Master I am. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy."

The Master of the Faithful asked: "You say that?" They answered: "Yes!" He asked: "Do you testify to it?" "Yes," they replied. [The Imam] said: "You have spoken the truth!"

Those people set off. I followed them and asked one of them: "God's servant, who are you?" They replied: "We are a group of Supporters (Anṣār), and this is Abū Ayyūb, the owner of the home where God's Messenger stayed." I then took his hand, shook it, and greeted him.[84]

It is related from Ḥabīb Ibn Yassār, from Abū Rumaylah:

Four horsemen came to Ali and dismounted in the courtyard. They then approached him and said:

السلام عليك يا امير المؤمنين ورحمة الله وبركاته

("Peace and God's mercy and blessings be upon you, O Master of the Faithful.") [The Imam] replied: "And peace be upon you. Where is this caravan from?"

They replied: "Your servants have come from the land of such-and-such." The Imam asked: "How are you my servants?!" They answered: "On the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, we heard God's Messenger say:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه

"Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master; O God be Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy."[85]

Ibn Athīr Jazarī says in his entry on Ḥabīb Ibn Budayl Ibn Warqāʾ:

Ali came out of the pavilion and was met by four horsemen armed with swords. They said:

السلام عليك يا امير المؤمنين، السلام عليك يا مولانا ورحمة الله وبركاته

"Peace be upon you, Master of the Faithful. Peace and God's mercy and blessings be upon you, our Master!"

The Master of the Faithful then asked: "Who out of God's Messenger's companions is here?" Twelve [people] then stood up including Qays Ibn Thābit Ibn Shimās, Hāshim Ibn ʿUtbah, and Ḥabīb Ibn Budayl Ibn Warqāʾ and testified that they had heard the Prophet say: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master." Abū Mūsā cites this.[86]

Our greatest Shaykh, Abū ʿAmr Muhammad Kashshī, says in *Rijāl*, after relating this hadith from Minhāl Ibn ʿAmr, from Zirr Ibn Ḥubaysh, mentioning the following witnesses: Khālid Ibn Zayd, Abū Ayyūb, Khuzaymah Ibn Thābit (whose testimony is equivalent to that of two other men), Qays Ibn Saʿd Ibn ʿUbaydah, and ʿAbdullāh Ibn Budayl Ibn Warqāʾ:

Ali said to Anas Ibn Mālik and Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib:

"What stopped you from standing up to bear witness because you heard as the people had heard?!" He then said: "O God! If they hid it out of obstinacy, then afflict them!"

Thereafter, Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib went blind, and both of Anas Ibn Mālik's legs developed leprosy. Anas then swore by God that he would never hide

any of Ali's achievements or virtues. Barā' Ibn ʿĀzib would ask the way home, and be told it is in such-and-such a place, but he would then say: "How can someone cursed by Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib find his way?!"[87]

ʿAllāmah Amīnī states the names of those who testified to their servitude, and the incident is referred to as "the Day of the Horsemen." He then states the names of those who withheld evidence.

The witnesses are the following:

1. Abū al-Haytham Ibn Tayyihān, a Badr veteran;
2. Abū Ayyūb: Khālid Ibn Zayd Anṣārī;
3. Ḥabīb Ibn Budayl Ibn Warqā' Khuzāʿī;
4. Khuzaymah Ibn Thābit, whose testimony is equivalent to two other men's, a Badr veteran, who was martyred at the Battle of Ṣiffīn;
5. ʿAbdullāh Ibn Budayl Ibn Warqā', who was martyred at the Battle of Ṣiffīn;
6. ʿAmmār Ibn Yāsir, a Badr veteran who was killed by the renegade faction (*al-fi'at al-bāghiyah*) at the Battle of Ṣiffīn;
7. Qays Ibn Thābit Ibn Shimās Anṣārī;
8. Qays Ibn Saʿd Ibn ʿUbaydah Khazrajī Anṣārī;
9. Hāshim Mirqāl Ibn ʿUtbah, the Master of the Faithful's standard-bearer, who was martyred at Ṣiffīn.

Those who withheld evidence, according to what history books record, were the following:

1. Abū Ḥamzah: Anas Ibn Mālik (d. 90, 91, or 93 AH);
2. Barā' Ibn ʿĀzib Anṣārī (d. 71 or 72 AH);
3. Jarīr Ibn ʿAbdillāh Bajalī (d. 51 or 54 AH);
4. Zayd Ibn Arqam Khazrajī (d. 66 or 68 AH);
5. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Mudlij;
6. Yazīd Ibn Wadīʿah.[88]

The seventh adducement was the Master of the Faithful's adjurement at the Battle of Ṣiffīn before his troops, a number of other people, and those in his presence from various counties, as well as Migrants (*muhājirīn*) and Supporters (*anṣār*).

This argument was presented when Muʿāwiyah wrote a letter and sent it to the Master of the Faithful with Abū Hurayrah and Abū Dardā', along with some oral questions put to Muʿāwiyah via them by [the Imam].

Because this letter, the questions, and the responses by the Imam are so interesting, we shall tell the whole story from the beginning, and then move on to the Imam's reliance on the Ghadīr Hadith as evidence.

This story is told in full in the book by the erudite successor, Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilālī Kūfī, one of the Imam's greatest companions,

and whose greatness, reliability, and trustworthiness as a narrator is well-known both to Shiʿa and Sunnis, and is not in any doubt.

Abān Ibn Abī ʿAyyāsh narrates from Sulaym Ibn Qays:

> We were at Ṣiffīn in the presence of the Master of the Faithful, and Abū Hurayrah ʿAbdī claimed that he had heard from Omar Ibn Abī Salamah that Muʿāwiyah had called Abū Dardāʾ and Abū Hurayrah, who were his companions, and told them:
>
> > Go to Ali, remember me to him, and tell him:
> >
> > By God, I well know that you are worthier of and more entitled to the Caliphate than I, because you are one of the first Migrants, and I am [just] one of those who were released. I do not have your precedence in Islam or your relationship to God's Messenger or your knowledge of God's Book and His Prophet's tradition.
> >
> > After three days of consultation, the Migrants and Supporters came to you, and all willingly and without compulsion pledged allegiance to you. The first to pledge allegiance to you were Ṭalḥah and Zubayr. However, they subsequently broke their pledge of allegiance to you, did wrong, and pursued that which was not theirs!
> >
> > And it has reached me that you have cleared yourself of killing Othman and disassociated yourself from his murder! You claim that he was murdered while you were sitting in your home and that when he was murdered, you said: "O God, I am not pleased, nor did I want [it]." And at the Battle of the Camel, when they cried out: "Vengeance for Othman" (*yā li thārāti ʿUthmān*) you said:
> >
> > > May Othman's killers be thrown on their faces in Hell (*kubba qatalatu ʿUthmān al-yawm li wujūhihim*). Did we kill him? It was those two and their female accomplice [Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and Ayishe]. They ordered he be killed, while I was sitting in my home. I am Othman's cousin and the seeker of vengeance for him.
> >
> > Now, if the matter is as you have said, let us at Othman's killers and hand them over to us so that we can kill them—O cousin of ours—and we will pledge allegiance to you and concede the leadership to you! This is one [thing].
> >
> > The second [thing] is: My spies have informed me, and letters have reached me from the cohorts of Othman who are fighting alongside you—and we believe that they agree with you and are content with your leadership, but their love is for us and their heart is ours though their body is with you—that you show love for Abū Bakr

and Omar, and invoke mercy for them but refrain from Othman, neither mentioning him nor invoking mercy for him, nor cursing him! (Another hadith says: "nor vilifying him nor disassociating yourself from him").

And it has reached me that whenever you are alone with your filthy companions, and your lying, deviant followers (*shīʿah*) and intimate friends, you disassociate yourself from and curse Abū Bakr, Omar, and Othman, and claim that you are God's Messenger's executor in his nation, and his successor (*khalīfah*) among them, and that the Mighty and Exalted God has made obedience to you incumbent upon the believers, and He has commanded your appointment as leader in His Book and His Prophet's tradition, and God has commanded Muhammad to establish that in his nation, and revealed to him:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message, and God will protect you from the people (5:67).

He then gathered together the Quraysh, the Supporters, and the Umayyads at Ghadīr Khumm. (Another hadith just says: "He then gathered together the Umayyads"), and he delivered from God what he had been ordered to about you. He ordered those present to communicate it to those who were absent and told them:

انك اولى بهم من انفسهم، وانك منه بمنزلة هارون من موسى.

that you have greater authority over them than they have over their own selves, and that you are to him as Aaron was to Moses.

And I have been informed that you never deliver a sermon without saying before you get down from the pulpit:

والله انى لأولى الناس بالناس، ومازلت مظلوما منذ قبض رسول الله.

"By God, surely out of all the people I have greatest authority over the people, and I have been wronged ever since God's Messenger was taken!"

If what has reached me is true, then, the wrong done by Abū Bakr and Omar to you was worse than the wrong done by Othman because it has reached me that you say: "God's Messenger was taken while we were present, but Omar shot off to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr." He did not seek your instruction or consult you. Those

two men (Abū Bakr and Omar) began disputing your right, your proof, and your relationship to God's Messenger with the Supporters. Had they conceded to you and pledged allegiance to you, Othman would have been the first person to do so [too], because of your relationship to him and his duty to you, because he was the son of your paternal uncle and paternal aunt!

Then Abū Bakr, when he was dying, resolved to return [the Caliphate] to Omar. He did not seek your instruction or consult you when he appointed him as successor and assured allegiance for him! Then Omar appointed you as one of six on the Council, and sent out all the Migrants, Supporters, and everyone else. You then made Ibn ʿAwf your proxy, on the third day, when you noticed that the people had gathered with their swords in their hands, and sworn by God that if the sun set without your having elected one of you, you would all be beheaded, and Omar's order and testamentary instruction pertaining to you would most assuredly be carried out. So you appointed ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAwf as your proxy, and he pledged allegiance to Othman, and then you all pledged allegiance to him! Then, [later on,] Othman was besieged and asked for your help, but you did not help him. He called you but you did not respond to him, even though your pledge of allegiance to him was still around your necks.

All of you, O ye Migrants and Supporters, were there present, but you allowed the Egyptians to kill him. Groups from among you helped them kill him, and you all deserted him, so you all became either his killers, those who gave the order [to kill], or deserters!

Then, the people pledged allegiance to you, and you are worthier of it than I, so hand Othman's killers over to me so that I can kill them. I concede the leadership to you, and pledge allegiance to you, along with everyone else on my part among the Levantines.

When Ali had read Muʿāwiyah's letter, and Abū Dardāʾ and Abū Hurayrah had delivered his message and what he had said, Ali said to Abū Dardāʾ:

You have indeed delivered to me what Muʿāwiyah sent you with. Now, listen to me, then deliver it to him and tell him:

Othman Ibn Affān had to have been one of two kinds of men: either a leader of guidance, the spilling of whose blood was unlawful, who had to be helped and disobedience to whom was not permissible, and whom the nation could not desert; or a leader of error, the spill-

ing of whose blood was lawful, whose authority it was not permissible to accept and whom it was not permissible to assist. He had to have had one of these two attributes.

That which is incumbent upon the Muslims in God's law, and Islam's law is that after their leader dies [of natural causes] or is killed, whether he was in error or rightly guided, was wronged or did wrong, whether it was permissible to spill his blood or unlawful to spill his blood, they must not do anything, innovate anything, or set a hand or foot forward or start anything until they have chosen for themselves a pious, knowledgeable, ascetic leader, who knows how to judge and [knows] the tradition to unite them and arbitrate between them, allowing the wronged to take his right from the wrongdoer, their borders to be protected, to receive their booty, to establish their proof, and to collect their alms, and then for them to have him resolve the matter of their unlawfully killed leader for him to rule justly between them. Then, if their imam was wrongly killed, he will rule in favor of his next of kin's exacting retribution, but if he was killed as a wrongdoer, he will assess how to resolve that.

This would be the first thing they should do, to elect a leader to unite them—if the choice is theirs—and follow and obey him. However, it is the Mighty and Exalted God's and His Messenger's choice, and indeed God has saved them the consideration and choice, and God's Messenger has chosen a leader for them and directed them to obey and follow him. And after Othman was killed, the people pledged allegiance to me. The Migrants and Supporters pledged allegiance to me, after three days of consulting each other over me, and in the end paid homage to me. They are those who pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr, Omar, and Othman, and covenanted their appointment as leader. That was followed by the Badr veterans, and the foremost Migrants and Supporters. The only difference is that they pledged allegiance to those before me without consulting everyone, whereas allegiance was pledged to me following consultation of everyone.

So, if God, Exalted is His Name, left it up to the nation to choose and decide for themselves, their choosing and deciding for themselves being better than God's and His Messenger's deciding for them, whomever they choose and pledge allegiance to would be a pledge of guidance, and he would be a leader whom the people would have to obey and assist. The people consulted each other concerning me and unanimously chose me.

But if it is the Mighty and Exalted God Who chooses for them, then it is He Who has chosen me for the nation, and appointed me as

successor over them, and in His revealed Book and tradition of His envoy Prophet ordered the people to obey and assist me. That makes my argument stronger and my right more incumbent. And suppose that Othman had been murdered during Abū Bakr's and Omar's term; then would Muʿāwiyah have been entitled to fight them and rebel against them to seek [revenge]?!

Abū Hurayrah and Abū Dardāʾ said: "No."

Ali said:

The same applies to me. If Muʿāwiyah says "Yes," then tell him: In that case, anyone to whom wrong is done, or one of whose own has been murdered, is entitled to break with the community of the Muslims, cause division among them, and promote himself.

However, Othman's children are more entitled to avenge their father than Muʿāwiyah is.

Sulaym says:

Abū Dardāʾ and Abū Hurayrah remained silent and then said: "You have been just on your part."

Ali replied:

I swear on my life, Muʿāwiyah will be fair with me, if he keeps his word and truly obeys me. Now, those children of Othman's are grownups, not children, and have no guardian. They should come. I will gather them and their father's killers. If they cannot prove their case, they should testify that Muʿāwiyah is their guardian, their representative, and their champion in their dispute. They and their opponents should sit before the bench, before the leader and governor whose ruling they accept, and implement his judgment.

I will consider their proof, and their opponents' proof. Then, if their father was killed as a wrongdoer and spilling his blood was lawful, I will cancel his bloodwit. (Another hadith says: "I will spill his bloodwit").

If he was wrongfully killed, [and] spilling his blood was unlawful, I will hand over their father's killer to them. Then, if they like, they can kill him, or if they like, they can forgive him, or if they like, they can accept damages (*diyah*).

Those killers of Othman in my camp confess to killing him, and are content with my sentence upon them. Therefore, Othman's sons

> and Muʿāwiyah should come along—if Muʿāwiyah is their guardian and representative—and should litigate against [Othman's] killers and prosecute them so that I can arbitrate between them in accordance with God's Book and His Prophet's tradition.
>
> And if Muʿāwiyah is just making accusations and looking for excuses and nonsense, he should make whatever accusation occurs to him and he will help God against himself!

Abū Dardāʾ and Abū Hurayrah said: "By God, you have been fair on your part, been more than fair, done away with his excuse, refuted his proof, and adduced strong, truthful, unassailable evidence!"

Abū Hurayrah and Abū Dardāʾ then left Ali.

Sulaym says:

Thereafter, about twenty thousand iron-helmeted men came to them and said: "We are the killers of Othman. We confess and are content with Ali's ruling, whether for us or against us. Othman's next of kin should come to prosecute us before the Master of the Faithful for their father's killing. Then if he rules for retaliation against us or [that we pay] damages (*diyah*), we shall forbear his sentence and resign ourselves."

Both Abū Dardāʾ and Abū Hurayrah said: "You too have spoken fairly, and it is not permissible for Ali to hand you over or kill you until [Othman's next of kin] prosecute you before him—so that he can pass judgment between you and your opponents (*aṣḥābikum*) by God's Book and His Prophet's traditions."

Abū Dardāʾ and Abū Hurayrah set out, eventually reaching Muʿāwiyah, and told him what Ali had said, what Othman's killers had said, and what Abū al-Nuʿmān Ibn Ḍamān had said.

Thereafter, Muʿāwiyah asked: "But what was Ali's response to you with regard to his invoking mercy on Abū Bakr and Omar, but refraining from invoking mercy on Othman, and secretly disavowing him, and his claim that God's Messenger had appointed him as successor and that he has been unfairly treated ever since God's Messenger was taken?!"

They replied:

> Yes, in front of us, he did invoke mercy on Abū Bakr, Omar, and Othman, as we listened. He then told us that inter alia:
>
> > If God left the choice up to the nation, it would be they who choose and see for themselves. Their choices and decision for

themselves would be better and wiser for them than God's choice and God's Messenger's choice. Well, they elected me and pledged allegiance to me, so allegiance to me is righteous allegiance, and I am a leader whom the people have to assist because they consulted each other and elected me.

If God's choice and God's Messenger's choice is better and wiser for them than their choosing and seeing for themselves, well, God and His Messenger have chosen me for the nation, appointed me as successor over them, and in God's Book revealed upon the tongue of His envoy Prophet have commanded the people to assist and obey me, so this is stronger proof of my claim and necessarily follows from my right.

Ali then climbed the pulpit in his camp, and gathered everyone—everyone in the counties around him, the Migrants and Supporters. He then praised and glorified God, then said:

معاشر الناس! ان مناقبي أكثر من ان تحصى! وبعد ما انزل الله في كتابه من ذلك وما قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله اكتفي بها عن جميع مناقبي وفضلي.

O ye people! My achievements are too numerous to reckon! However, I content myself with what God has revealed in His Book, and what God's Messenger said about all my achievements and merit.

Here, the Imam addresses many of his achievements as revealed in God's Book, or spoken about by God's Messenger explicitly and in detail. He relies on them as evidence by way of adjuring the people who were listening, their answering: "God, yes, we testify to what Ali says, and what the Prophet said about him." This is also an excellent adjurement. However, because the wording and matters addressed are so similar to his adjurement and argument in the Prophet's Mosque during Othman's term, when the Migrants and Supporters were playing one-upmanship over their precedents and we cited the same in the third argument *supra* on the authority of Ḥamwīnī, *Farā'id al-Simṭayn*, pp. 32–40, via his chain from Sulaym Ibn Qays, we shall refrain from quoting it verbatim, and just cite the evidential reliance on and reference to the Ghadīr Hadith:

فأمر الله عزوجل ان يعلمهم وان يفسر لهم من الولاية ما فسر لهم من صلاتهم وصيامهم وزكاتهم وحجهم، فنصبني بغدير خم وقال: ان الله ارسلني برسالة ضاق بها صدري، وظننت ان الناس مكذبوني، فاوعدني لابلغنها او يعذبني، قم يا علي،

ثم نادى بالصلاة جامعة فصلى بهم الظهر ثم قال: ايها الناس، ان الله مولاي وانا مولى المؤمنين واولى بهم من انفسهم. من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه. اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، وانصر من نصره، واخذل من خذله،

قام اليه سلمان الفارسي فقال: يا رسول الله ولاؤه كماذا؟ قال: ولاؤه كولايتي. من كنت اولى به من نفسه فعلي اولى به من نفسه. وانزل الله: اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم واتممت عليكم نعمتي ورضيت لكم الاسلام دينا.

قال سلمان الفارسي: يا رسول الله، انزلت هذه الآيات في علي خاصة؟ قال: فيه وفي اوصيائي الى يوم القيامة. قال سلمان الفارسي: يا رسول الله، بينهم لنا، قال: علي اخي ووزيري ووصيي ووارثي وخليفتي في امتي وولي كل مؤمن بعدي، واحد عشر اماما من ولده: الحسن والحسين ثم تسعة من ولد الحسين، واحدا بعد واحد، القرآن معهم وهم مع القرآن، لا يفارقونه حتى يردوا علي الحوض. قام اثنا عشر رجلا من البدريين قالوا: نشهد انا سمعنا ذلك من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله كما قلت سواء لم تزد حرفا ولم تنقص حرفا. وقال بقية السبعين[89] قد سمعنا ذلك ولم نحفظه كله، وهؤلاء اثنا عشر خيارنا وافضلنا. قال: قد صدقتم، ليس كل الناس يحفظه...

(Because this was translated above under the third argument, we will not repeat it here).

When Abū Dardā' and Abū Hurayrah told Muʿāwiyah about the Master of the Faithful's sermon along with the people's responses and confirmations, he was dumbfounded with rage. He [eventually] said:

يا ابا الدرداء ويا ابا هريرة لئن كان ما تحدثاني عنه حقا لقد هلك المهاجرون والانصار غيره وغير اهل بيته وشيعته.[90]

"O Abū Dardā', and O Abū Hurayra, if everything you have told me about him is true, then indeed all the Migrants and Supporters, apart from [Ali], his Household, and his followers, are doomed.'

(All seven arguments cited thus far were presented by the Master of the Faithful during various eras).

The eighth adducement was by the Intercessor on Judgment Day, the best of ladies, Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' as quoted by Shams al-Dīn Jazarī Dimashqī Muqrī Shāfiʿī in his book *Asnā al-Maṭālib fi Manāqib Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib*. He says: "The nicest but strangest route to this hadith—i.e. the Ghadīr Hadith—is orally from our Shaykh, the ultimate memorizer, Abū Bakr Muhammad Ibn ʿAbdillāh Ibn Muḥibb Maqdisī." He then cites the chain in order, eventually reaching Bakr Ibn Aḥmad Qaṣrī, who narrates the hadith from Fāṭimah, Zaynab, and Umm Kulthūm, the daughters of Mūsā Ibn Jaʿfar, who said:

> Fāṭimah the daughter of Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad told us:
>
> > Fāṭimah daughter of Muhammad Ibn Ali told me:
> >
> > > Fāṭimah the daughter of Muhammad Ibn Ali told me:
> > >
> > > > Fāṭimah the daughter of Ali Ibn al-Husayn told me:
> > > >
> > > > > Sukaynah and Fāṭimah, daughters of Husayn Ibn Ali, told me, on the authority of Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Prophet:
> > > > >
> > > > > > God's Messenger's daughter Fāṭimah said:
> > > > > >
> > > > > > انسيتم قول رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يوم غدير خم: من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه؟ وقوله: انت مني بمنزلة هارون من موسى عليهما السلام؟
> > > > > >
> > > > > > Have you forgotten God's Messenger's words on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master," and his words: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses"?

This is how al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Kabīr (The Great Memorizer) Abū Mūsā Madanī quotes this hadith, in his book *al-Musalsal bi al-Asmā'*. He says: "In one respect, this hadith does have a uniformly linked chain of narration (is *musalsal*), because every Fāṭimah relates from her paternal aunt. So, it is a narration by five nieces, each from her paternal aunt."[91]

The ninth adducement of the Ghadīr Hadith was by Imam Hasan Mujtabā.

Shaykh Ṭūsī narrates via his chain from Abū Omar Zādān:

As Imam Hasan Ibn Ali resolved to make peace with Muʿāwiyah, Muʿāwiyah climbed the pulpit, gathered the people together, and delivered a sermon to them, saying: "Hasan Ibn Ali has found me suitable for the Caliphate, and found himself not suitable for it!" (In the meantime, the Imam was one step lower down on the pulpit.) When Muʿāwiyah had finished speaking, Imam Hasan stood up, praised and glorified God as He should be praised and glorified, and delivered a very eloquent sermon, referring to the Master of the Faithful's and the Household's achievements and virtues. He eventually said:

وقد رأوا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله نصب ابي يوم غدير خم وأمرهم ان يبلغ الشاهد منهم الغائب[92]

"They saw God's Messenger appoint my father on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm and tell those present to tell those who were absent."

Muḥaddith Baḥrāni cites this hadith.[93] In another lengthier and more detailed hadith he narrates:

وقد رأوا رسول الله حين نصبه لهم بغدير خم، وسمعوه ونادى له بالولاية، ثم امرهم ان يبلغ الشاهد منهم الغائب[94]

"They saw God's Messenger when he appointed him for them at Ghadīr Khumm, and they heard him call him [their] Master. Then he told those present to tell those who were absent."

Qundūzī Ḥanafī relates:

وقد رأوه وسمعوه صلى الله عليه وآله حين اخذ بيد ابي بغدير خم وقال لهم: (من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه) اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه. ثم امرهم ان يبلغ الشاهد منهم الغائب[95]

"They saw and heard him when he took my father's hand at Ghadīr Khumm and said to them: 'Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy.' He then told those present to tell those absent."

The tenth adducement of the Ghadīr Hadith was by the Master of the Martyrs at Minā, a year or two before Muʿāwiyah's death. This adjurement incorporates many themes, and it was delivered when Muʿāwiyah's sacrilegious acts were at their worst. He had put Ziyād Ibn Abīh in charge of Kufa and Basra. The latter would kill the followers of the Master of the Faithful wherever he encountered them; a mere accusation of being Shiʿa was enough reason to kill them. And he had written to all provinces that no one had the right to say a word concerning the achievements and virtues of Ali and his Household.

Instead, they had to relate Othman's achievements and virtues to the people. He ordered that the followers of Ali be humiliated and that their names be erased from the stipendiary register; conversely, Othman's followers were to be honored and respected. He subsequently wrote again, saying to desist speaking about Othman's virtues, and instead to speak about those of the two Shaykhs, Abū Bakr and Omar, because their precedents and virtues were dearer and more pleasing to him, better evidence to counter that of the Household, and better able to eradicate mention of the Household's name than citing Othman's achievements and virtues. For nearly twenty years Muʿāwiyah pursued this same policy, and he wrote to all his agents to read copies of these collected achievements to the people in all cities, county towns, and villages and in every mosque and festival hall, and to vilify Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and to instruct Qurʾanic schoolteachers to teach to do so, as well as teaching them the Qurʾan, and similarly, to teach women and girls, and even servants and maids, to do so.

The children were taught this, youths grew old, and the old died doing so.

When Imam Hasan Mujtabā was poisoned by Muʿāwiyah via his wife, the daughter of Ashʿath Ibn Qays Kindī, and died in 49 AH,[96] the fire of civil war was firmly established, the Shiʿa were severely tested, and the situation went from bad to worse. Not a single one of God's Friends in any part of the Islamic world did not fear for his life—terrorized, banished, exiled, and cast out. Meanwhile, God's enemies were in control everywhere and were proud of their evil innovations. A year before the death of Muʿāwiyah,[97] Husayn Ibn Ali went on *ḥajj*, accompanied by ʿAbdullāh Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿAbdullāh Ibn Jaʿfar.

It was then that Husayn gathered together all the Hāshimites, men and women, their *mawālī* (slaves, step-children, and friends), the Supporters he knew, and his Household. He announced: "Do not fail to gather a single pious companion of God's Messenger's to me at Minā."

At Minā, more than seven hundred people gathered together in his tent; most of them were successors, and about two hundred of them were companions of God's Messenger's.

قام فيهم خطيبا فحمد الله واثنى عليه ثم قال: اما بعد فان هذا الطاغية قد فعل بنا وبشيعتنا ما قد رأيتم وعلمتم وشهدتم، وانى اريد ان اسئلكم عن شيء، فان صدقت فصدقونى، وان كذبت فكذبونى:

وأسئلكم بحق الله عليكم وحق رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وقرابتى من نبيكم لما سرتم مقامى هذا ووصفتم مقالتى ودعوتم اجمعين فى أمصاركم من قبائلكم من آمنتم من الناس (وفى رواية اخرى بعد قوله: فكذبونى: اسمعوا مقالتى واكتبوا قولى، ثم ارجعوا الى أمصاركم وقبائلكم من أمنتم من الناس) ووثقتم به فادعوهم الى ما تعلمون من حقنا، فانى اتخوف ان يدرس هذا الامر ويذهب الحق ويغلب، والله متم نوره ولو كره الكافرون.

وما ترك شيئا مما قاله رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله فى ابيه واخيه وامه وفى نفسه واهل بيته الا رواه، وكل ذلك يقول اصحابه: اللهم نعم، وقد سمعنا وشهدنا، ويقول التابعى: اللهم قد حدثنى به من اصدقه وائتمنه من الصحابة.

فقال: انشدكم الله الا حدثتم به من تثقون به وبدينه، قال سليم: فكان فيما ناشدهم الحسين وذكرهم ان قال...: انشدكم الله أتعلمون ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله نصبه يوم غدير خم فنادى له بالولاية، وقال: ليبلغ الشاهد الغائب؛

قالوا: اللهم نعم... فقالوا: اللهم نعم قد سمعنا، وتفرقوا على ذلك.[98]

Husayn then stood and delivered a sermon to them, so he praised and glorified God, and then continued:

> Now then, this tyrant[99] has done to us and our followers (*shi'a*), what you have seen, known, and witnessed! Now, I want to ask you something, and then if I speak the truth, believe me, but if I am lying, call me a liar!
>
> I ask you by your duty to God and to His Messenger and by my [blood] relationship to your Prophet, when you leave this lodging of mine, describe what I say and all of you invite those people from your tribes in whom you have faith in your homeland,[100] and trust, call them to what you know of our rightfulness because I am afraid that this order will fade away, and the right will disappear and be defeated *but God will perfect His light, though the unbelievers may be averse* (61:8).

In this sermon, Husayn did not fail to narrate anything that God's Messenger had said about him, his father, his mother, his brother, and his Household. In response to everything he said, his companions replied: "God, yes! We heard and witnessed." The successors would say: "O God! He whom I believe and trust of the companions told me."

[To paraphrase] Husayn then said: "I adjure you by God to tell whom you trust and whose religion you trust."

Sulaym says:

One of Husayn's adjurements was: "I adjure you by God: Do you know that God's Messenger appointed him [my father, the Master of the Faithful] on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, called him [the people's] Master, and told those present to tell those who were absent?!"

They replied: "God, yes!" They then said: "God, yes. We heard." They dispersed on that [agreement.][101]

The eleventh adducement of the Ghadīr Hadith as evidence was by ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Jaᶜfar Ibn Abī Ṭālib against Muᶜāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān (Ṣakhr Ibn Ḥarb Ibn Umayyah Ibn ᶜAbd Shams). Even though the hadith does not say where this took place, there are indications in the context that it was not in Medina, when Muᶜāwiyah went on *ḥajj*, because Muᶜāwiyah did so, along with his son, in 50 AH, i.e. after Imam Hasan's death in 49 AH. As we shall see, in this argument, Imam Hasan was also present. It would not be surprising if it happened in Kufa when Muᶜāwiyah was visiting and Imam Hasan made the peace treaty with him. Alternatively, it took place in Syria.

Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilālī relates this argument in his valuable book, which includes the best subjects. However, we only cite the first half, in which there is reference to the Ghadīr Khumm as evidence, and leave out the second half to avoid prolixity.

Abān Ibn Abī ᶜAyyāsh quotes Sulaym as saying:

ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Jaᶜfar Ibn Abī Ṭālib told me:

I was in the presence of Muᶜāwiyah, and Hasan and Husayn were also with us; [apart from us,] ᶜAbdullāh Ibn ᶜAbbās was [also] with Muᶜāwiyah. Muᶜāwiyah turned to me and said:

O ᶜAbdullāh, how greatly you honor Hasan and Husayn!

They are not better than you, nor is their father better than your father! If Fāṭimah were not God's Messenger's daughter, I

would tell you that your mother, Asmā', the daughter of ᶜUmays, is no less than she is!

I told Muᶜāwiyah:

By God, you know little about them, their father, and their mother. By God, they are surely better than I am, their father is better than my father, and their mother is better than my mother!

O Muᶜāwiyah, you are ignorant of what I have heard God's Messenger say about them, their father, and their mother! I have memorized, remembered, and narrated it.

Muᶜāwiyah said: "O son of Jaᶜfar, bring [it] on! By God, you are neither a liar nor are you [so] accused!"

I said: "It is greater than you think!"

Muᶜāwiyah said:

Tell, even if it is greater than both [Mount] Uḥud and Ḥirā'! I did not care when God killed your boss[102] and scattered your people, and leadership passed to the right person!

Tell us, because we do not care what you say, and what you lack does not harm us!'

I said:

I heard God's Messenger say when asked about this verse:

وَمَا جَعَلْنَا الرُّءْيَا الَّتِي أَرَيْنَاكَ إِلَّا فِتْنَةً لِلنَّاسِ وَالشَّجَرَةَ الْمَلْعُونَةَ فِي الْقُرْآنِ

...and We made the vision which We showed you as naught but a trial for people and likewise the accursed tree in the Qur'an (17:60). Surely I have seen twelve leaders of error climbing onto and descending from my pulpit, driving people back on their bottoms, comprising two men from two clans of the Quraysh, three Umayyads, and seven of Ḥakam Ibn Abī al-ᶜĀṣ's offspring.[103] And I heard him say: "When there are fifteen of Abī al-ᶜĀṣ's offspring, they will make God's Book a derangement and God's servants chattels, and [put] God's money at their disposal."

O Muᶜāwiyah! When I was before God's Messenger and ᶜAmr Ibn Abī Salamah, Usāmah Ibn Zayd, Saᶜd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ,

Salmān Farsī, Abū Dharr, al-Miqdād, and Zubayr Ibn al-ᶜAwwām [were also there], I heard him say on the pulpit: "Do I not have greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves?"

We replied: "Yes, God's Messenger." [The Prophet] said:

من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه اولی به من نفسه

"Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master—does he have greater authority over him than he has over his own self." Then, he tapped Ali with both hands on his shoulder, and said:

اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه ایها الناس انا اولی بالمؤمنین من انفسهم

لیس لهم معی امر!

O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. O people! I have greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves. There is no authority besides me over them.

After me, Ali has greater authority over them than they have over their own selves, and then my scion, Hasan, has greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves. There will be no authority apart from him over them.

The Prophet repeated:

And when I am martyred, Ali will have greater authority over you than you have over your own selves. Then, when Ali is martyred, my scion Hasan will have greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves. And when Hasan is martyred, then my scion Husayn will have greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves! There will be no other authority over them apart from him. And when Husayn is martyred, my scion Ali Ibn al-Husayn will have greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves. There will be no other authority over them apart from him."

Then, God's Messenger turned to Ali and said:

O Ali, you will live to see him, so remember me to him. And when Ali Ibn al-Husayn is martyred, my scion Muhammad will have greater authority over the believers

> than they have over their own selves. You, O Husayn, will live to see him, so remember me to him. Then, after Muhammad, there will be men, one after the other. Not one of them will fail to have greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves. There will be no authority over [the believers] apart from them. All of them will guide and be rightly guided.

Then, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib stood up, weeping, and said: "May my father and mother be your sacrifice, will you be killed, God's Prophet?!" [The Prophet] replied: "Yes, I will be martyred with poison! And Ali, you will be slain with a sword, and your beard will be dyed with blood from your head! And my scion Hasan will be killed with poison, and my scion Husayn will be slain with a sword. A tyrant, the son of a tyrant, a bastard, the son of bastard will slay him!"

> Muʿāwiyah said: "O son of Jaʿfar, you have said something serious! If what you say is true, then apart from you, the Household, your friends and helpers, the entire nation of Muhammad, Migrants and Supporters, are doomed!"
>
> I said: "By God, everything I have said is true. I heard it from God's Messenger."
>
> Muʿāwiyah said: "Hasan! Husayn! Ibn ʿAbbās! What is Ibn Jaʿfar saying?!"
>
> Ibn ʿAbbās said: "If you do not believe what he says, then send for those whom he has named and ask them about it."
>
> Thereupon Muʿāwiyah sent for Omar Ibn Abī Salamah and Usāmah Ibn Zayd, and then asked them. Thereafter, they testified: "That which the son of Jaʿfar has said, we heard it from God's Messenger as he heard it!"
>
> Muʿāwiyah said as if incredulously and mockingly: "O son of Jaʿfar! We have heard about Hasan, Husayn, and their father, but what have you heard about their mother?"
>
> I said:
>
> > I heard God's Messenger say:
> >
> > > There is in the Garden of Eden no abode nobler, more superior, or closer to my Lord's Throne than my abode. Thirteen of my Household will be with me: my brother Ali, my daughter Fāṭimah, my scions, Hasan and Husayn, and

> nine of Husayn's offspring—those from whom God has kept away all impurity and whom He has made absolutely pure, rightly guided guides. I deliver from God and they deliver from me. They are God's proofs for His creatures, His witnesses on His earth, the treasurers of His Knowledge, and the repositories of His aphorisms. Whoever obeys them, obeys God, and whoever disobeys them, disobeys God!
>
> The earth will not be left for the twinkling of an eye without them, would not be right without their telling people their religious affairs and what is lawful and unlawful for them, guiding them to their Lord's pleasure, and directing them away from His wrath with a single commandment and prohibition. There is no disagreement, division, or dispute among them. The last of them takes from the first of them, inheriting my dictation and my brother Ali's handwriting from each other until the Day of Resurrection.
>
> The people of earth are all ignorant, inadvertent, and in error, apart from them, their followers, and their friends. In their religious affairs, they need no one from the nation—the nation needs them. They are those whom God means in His Book, linking obedience to them to obedience to Him and to obedience to His Messenger, saying:
>
> أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ
>
> *...obey God, and obey the Messenger and those among you who are in authority* (4:50).

Muᶜāwiyah turned to Hasan, Husayn, Ibn ᶜAbbās, Faḍl Ibn ᶜAbbās, Omar Ibn Abī Salamah, and Usāmah Ibn Zayd and asked: "Do you all agree with what the son of Jaᶜfar said?" They answered: "Yes."

He said:

> O sons of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭālib! You are making a grand claim, and have strong proofs, if they are true! You hide something that you keep secret, that people are unaware of, blind to! And if whatever they say is true, then the nation is doomed, has turned away from its religion and forsaken their Prophet's covenant except for you, the Household, and anyone who says what you do—and few are those people who say as you do.

...I said:

O Muʿāwiyah, God Exalted says:

وقليل من عبادي الشكور

...and few of my servants are grateful (34:13); says:

وما أكثر الناس ولو حرصت بمؤمنين

...and most people will not believe though you desire it eagerly (12:103); says:

الا الذين ءامنوا وعملوا الصالحات وقليل ما هم

...except for those who believe and do good deeds, and few are they (38:24); and says about Noah:

وما ءامن معه الا قليل

And but a few were they who believed with him (11:40). O Muʿāwiyah, the believers are a minority among the people.

Next, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Jaʿfar tells the story of Moses, the sorcerers, Aaron, and the Sāmirī, because most people followed the Sāmirī and the calf, deserting Moses; he then said:

> At Ghadīr Khumm and elsewhere, our Prophet appointed the most-superior, best, and most-deserving man among his nation. He relied on Ali as evidence against the people, commanded them to obey him, and told them that [Ali] was to him as Aaron was to Moses, that he was the Master of every believer after him, and over whomsoever [the Prophet] had greater authority than he had over his own self, so too did Ali have greater authority over him than he had over his own self. He was his successor and executor among them. Whoever obeyed him was obeying God, and whoever disobeyed him was disobeying God. Whoever accepted him as Guardian accepted God as Guardian, but whoever was his enemy was God's enemy. However, they rejected him and took someone else as master...

ʿAbdullāh continued presenting further arguments to Muʿāwiyah.[104]

Twelve: The argument presented by Aṣbagh Ibn Nubātah to Muʿāwiyah referring to and relying on the Ghadīr Hadith as evidence, and adjuring Abū Hurayrah in Muʿāwiyah's ["caliphal"] court (*majlis*) in 37 AH. Abū Hurayrah was a companion who had sold his religion for worldly gain, and become a flatterer of Muʿāwiyah. Over time, through fabricating narrations and telling lies, he became a false clergyman in Muʿāwiyah's court.

We refer the respectable readers of this book to two books in particular:

1. *Abū Hurayrah*, by ᶜAllāmah Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn ᶜĀmilī.
2. *Abū Hurayrah Shaykh al-Maḍīrah*, by the scholar, gifted jurisprudent, and convert to Shiᶜism, Shaykh Maḥmūd Abū Rayyah.

During the Battle of Ṣiffīn, Ali wrote a letter to Muᶜāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān and gave it to Aṣbagh Ibn Nubātah to deliver it to him.

Aṣbagh says:

I reached Muᶜāwiyah and saw that he was sitting on a mat made out of tanning leather, and leaning back on two green cushions. ᶜAmr Ibn al-ᶜĀṣ, Ḥawshab, and Dhū al-Kilāᶜ were on his right, and on his left were ᶜUtbah Ibn Abī Sufyān, Ibn ᶜĀmir Ibn Kurayz, Walīd Ibn ᶜUqbah, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khālid, and Sharḥabīl Ibn Simṭ. Abū Hurayrah, Abū Dardāʾ, Nuᶜmān Ibn Bashīr, and Abū Umāmah Bāhilī were [sitting] before him.

I handed the letter to Muᶜāwiyah, and when he read it, he said: "Ali is not handing over Othman's killers to us!"

I replied: "O Muᶜāwiyah! Do not use avenging Othman as an excuse! You are pursuing power and control! If you had wanted to help him when he was alive you would have done so! Instead, you kept watch to use it as an excuse to reach power!"

Muᶜāwiyah became angry with what I had said. I wanted to make him angrier, so I turned to Abū Hurayrah and asked: "God's Messenger's companion, I adjure you by Him apart from Whom there is no other god, Who knows the hidden and the manifest, and by His beloved chosen one, to tell me, were you present on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm?"

He replied: "Yes, I was."

I asked: "Then, what did you hear God's Messenger say about Ali?"

He replied: "I heard him say:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه وانصر من نصره واخذل من خذله

"Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master; O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Assist whoever assists him and forsake whoever forsakes him."

I said: "So, Abū Hurayrah! You have accepted, as master, his enemy and have become the enemy of his friend!" Abū Hurayrah sighed bitterly and said: "*Surely we are God's and to Him we shall surely return* (2:156)."[105]

Thirteen: The argument presented by Dārimiyyah Ḥajūniyyah,[106] a great woman and most sincere follower of the Master of the Faithful; she relied on the Ghadīr Hadith as evidence against Muᶜāwiyah.

When Muᶜāwiyah went on *ḥajj*, he sent his page after a woman called Dārimiyyah Ḥajūniyyah. (Dārimiyyah was a big colored woman and a follower (*shiᶜa*) of Ali.)

Muᶜāwiyah asked her: "How are you, O daughter of Ḥām?" Dārimiyyah answered: "I am well, but I am not of the tribe of Ḥām! I am a woman from the tribe of Banī Kinānah."

Muᶜāwiyah said: "You speak the truth! Do you know why I have called you here?"

Dārimiyyah answered: "God is far beyond [having any rival] (*subḥānallah*)! Surely I do not know the unseen!"

Muᶜāwiyah said: "I have called for you to ask why you love Ali, but hate me, and accept him as master, but me as your enemy?!"

Dārimiyyah asked: "Will you let me off?"

[Muᶜāwiyah] replied: "No."

Dārimiyyah said: "Well if you insist:

فانی احببت علیا علی عدله فی الرعیة، وقسمه بالسویة، وابغضتك علی قتال من هو اولی بالامر منك، وطلبك مالیس لك، ووالیت علیا علی ما عقد له رسول الله صلی الله علیه وآله من الولایة یوم خم بمشهد منك، وحبه للمساكین، واعظامه لاهل الدین، وعادیتك علی سفك الدماء، وشقك العصا، وجورك فی القضاء، وحكمك بالهوی.[107]

I love Ali because of his fairness to the flock and his equal distribution, and I hate you for fighting with someone who is worthier of the Caliphate (*amr*) than you, and your pursuit of what is not yours. I accept Ali as Master because of the Guardianship that God's Messenger covenanted for him on the Day of Khumm as witnessed by you, and his love for the destitute, and his esteem for people of religion. I hate you for shedding blood, causing division, judging unfairly, and ruling capriciously...

Fourteen: The argument presented by Maʾmūn the Abbasid, referring to and relying on the Ghadīr Hadith, before forty scholars, jurists, master debaters, theologians, well-read, enlightened, and learned ones.

Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih Andalusī narrates this argument in *al-ᶜIqd al-Farīd*, in the section on Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the Master of the Faithful's

virtues. Because everything that Ma'mūn said in this session is important, we shall quote it all verbatim along with the description of how the gathering was convened.

Isḥāq Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn Ḥammād Ibn Zayd says:

> Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham, who was chief justice [in the Muslim world] at that time, sent a message to me and to some of my companions to go to him, and we did so. At our meeting, he informed us: "The Master [sic] of the Faithful (Ma'mūn) has commanded me to bring along at dawn forty men of knowledge who understand what is said to them and give good answers. Give me the names of those who you think will suit the Master [sic] of the Faithful's purpose."
>
> We gave him several names, and he also mentioned several until there were the number Ma'mūn wanted. He wrote down the names the people had given and gave the order to set off early in the small hours. He sent for those who had not come, telling them to, and we reached him before dawn. We saw that he was already dressed and sitting down, waiting for us.
>
> Thereafter he mounted, as did we, and traveled to the gate. Lo, a servant was standing there. Then, when he caught sight of us, he said: "O Abū Muhammad (Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham), the Master [sic] of the Faithful is waiting for you."
>
> [The man] ushered us inside and told us to pray, so we started doing so. No sooner had we finished when the messenger emerged and said: "Enter!" Thereafter we entered and lo the Master [sic] of the Faithful (Ma'mūn) was sitting on his couch, wearing his black [clothing], *ṭaylasān*, *ṭawīlah*,[108] and turban.
>
> We stood and greeted [Ma'mūn], and he greeted us back and told us to sit down. Then, when we had settled down, he got down from his couch, took off his turban, and took off his *qalansuvah*. Then he turned to us, saying: "I only did what you have seen so that you would do the same! But there is a reason why I did not take off my shoes; whoever knows why, knows why, but I will tell whoever doesn't know." He stretched out his leg and said: "Take off your *qalansuvahs*, shoes, and *ṭaylasāns*."

Isḥāq says:

> We hesitated, so Yaḥyā told us: "Do as the Master [sic] of the Faithful commands!" Thereupon, we stepped aside and took off our shoes, *ṭaylasāns*, and *qalansuvahs*.

Then, when we had all settled back down, Ma'mūn told us: "O ye people, I have only sent for you to debate, so whoever needs to urinate or defecate (*al-akhbathayn*) will not benefit or understand what he says! So, whoever wants to go to the lavatory, there it is!" He pointed and drew our attention to it.

Then he put a question of jurisprudence, and told Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham: "O Abū Muhammad! Speak, and then after you, everyone else should speak, citing the evidence."

Yaḥyā spoke, then [the person] after Yaḥyā, and then the person after him, until the last of them had responded concerning the reason and the reason for the reason. Ma'mūn kept his head down (*muṭriq*), not saying anything until the conversation stopped. Ma'mūn turned to Yaḥyā and said: "O Abū Muhammad! You gave the right answer, but the wrong reason!" He then responded to what each of us had said, telling some of us we were correct and some of us we were wrong, eventually reaching the last one of us.

He then said: "I did not send for you because of this. However, I wanted to tell you that the Master [sic] of the Faithful [meaning himself] wanted to debate with you over the position (*madhhab*) he takes, and according to which he worships God!"

We said: "The Master [sic] of the Faithful should do so. May God grant him success!"

Ma'mūn said: "The Master [sic] of the Faithful worships God on the basis that Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib was the best successor after God's Messenger and the worthiest of succeeding him."

Isḥāq said: "O Master [sic] of the Faithful, there are some of us who would not believe what the Master [sic] of the Faithful says about Ali, the Master [sic] of the Faithful having invited us to debate."

Ma'mūn said: "O Isḥāq, choose! If you want to ask, then do so. If you like, I will ask you."

Isḥāq says:

I jumped at the chance, and said: "Then, I am going to ask you, Master [sic] of the Faithful." Ma'mūn said: "Ask!"

I said: "On what basis did the Master [sic] of the Faithful say that Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib was the best person after God's Messenger and the worthiest of succeeding him?"

Maʾmūn said: "O Isḥāq! You tell me on what basis some people are more virtuous than others." I replied: "By good deeds." He said: "You have spoken the truth! Now tell me, if someone's colleague was more virtuous during God's Messenger's lifetime, and then, after God's Messenger's death the less virtuous one does better than the one who was more virtuous during God's Messenger's lifetime, does he equal him (*a yulḥaqu bih*)?"[109]

Isḥāq says:

Thereupon, I bowed my head, so Maʾmūn said: "O Isḥāq, do not say: 'Yes, he can equal him,' because if you do say 'Yes,' then I will show you someone in our very time who struggles, performs *ḥajj*, fasts, prays, and gives more charity."[110]

Isḥāq says:

I said: "True, O Master [sic] of the Faithful! Someone who was less virtuous during God's Messenger's lifetime can never equal someone who was more virtuous."

Maʾmūn said:

> O Isḥāq! Now, look at what your co-religionists, those from whom you learned your religion and whose example you follow, have narrated of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's virtues and compare it with what they have taught you of Abū Bakr's virtues. Then, if you think Abū Bakr's virtues are similar to Ali's virtues, say that [Abū Bakr] is more virtuous than [Ali]! No, by God. Rather, compare [Ali's] virtues with all Abū Bakr's and Omar's virtues they have related to you, and if you find that [between them] they have more virtues than Ali alone, say those two are more virtuous than Ali! No, by God!
>
> Rather, compare the virtues of all ten of those who God's Messenger testified were going to Heaven, and if you find they are similar to Ali's virtues, then say that they are more virtuous than he.

And then Maʾmūn said: "O Isḥāq! On the day when God despatched His Messenger, which deeds were the best?" I said: "Sincerely testifying."

Maʾmūn asked: "Is it not being the foremost to embrace Islam?" I said: "Yes."

[Maʾmūn] said:

Read that in God, the Exalted's, Book:

وَالسَّابِقُونَ السَّابِقُونَ أُولَٰئِكَ الْمُقَرَّبُونَ.

And the foremost are the foremost! These are they who are favoured (56:10–11). He means none other than *the foremost* in embracing Islam. Do you know anyone who embraced Islam before Ali?

Isḥāq says:

I told him: "O Master [sic] of the Faithful! Ali was too young when he embraced Islam, and could not be held accountable; but when Abū Bakr embraced Islam, he was an adult and could be held accountable."

Ma'mūn asked: "First tell me which of them first embraced Islam, and then I will debate youth and maturity with you." I said: "Ali embraced Islam before Abū Bakr based on this criterion."

Ma'mūn said: "Yes. Now, tell me about Ali's Islam, when he embraced Islam. It had to have been either by the invitation of God's Messenger, or through inspiration by God."

Isḥāq says:

I bowed my head. Then, Ma'mūn told me: "O Isḥāq, do not say 'inspiration by God,' thus elevating him above God's Messenger because God's Messenger did not know Islam until Gabriel brought it to him from God the Exalted." I said: "Yes, God's Messenger invited him to Islam!"

He said: "O Isḥāq! So when God's Messenger invited him to Islam, could he have invited him for any other reason apart from by God's command, or from being presumptuous?"

Isḥāq says:

Thereafter, I bowed my head and so Ma'mūn said: "O, Isḥāq, do not attribute presumptuousness to God's Messenger, for God says: *and I am not of those who are presumptuous*" (38:81).

I said: "Yes! O Master [sic] of the Faithful, he did invite [Ali] by God's command!"

Ma'mūn asked: "Is it a characteristic of the Mighty (Jabbār) to charge His Prophet to invite someone who cannot be held accountable?!" I said: "I seek refuge in God!"

Maʾmūn asked:

> O Isḥāq! By analogy to what you say, do you suppose that Ali embraced Islam in his childhood, without being accountable, God's Messenger having been charged with inviting children to what was beyond their capacity?! He would invite them and they would apostatize a minute later, there being no consequence for their apostasy, and God's Messenger not being allowed to hold them accountable?! Do you think it is permissible to attribute that to the Mighty and Exalted God?!

I said: "I seek refuge in God!" Maʾmūn said:

> Therefore, I think that must mean nothing other than an honor conferred by God's Messenger on Ali to put him above other creatures, to distinguish him from them so that they would know his place and superiority. If the Blessed and Transcendent God had commanded [His Prophet] to invite children [to Islam], he would have invited them as he invited Ali.

I said: "Yes."

Maʾmūn asked: "Have you been informed that the Messenger invited any [other] children from his Household or relatives [to Islam] lest you say Ali was his cousin?" I said: "I do not know and I am not aware of whether he did so or not!"

Maʾmūn said: "O Isḥāq! Have you seen what you are not aware of and what you do not know? Will you not be accountable for it?!" I answered: "No."

Maʾmūn said: "So leave what God has relieved you and us of!"

Then Maʾmūn asked: "Next, after being the first to embrace Islam, which action is best?" I said: "Struggling on God's path."

He said: "You have spoken the truth! Do you find any of God's Messenger's companions' struggle like Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's?" I asked: "At what time?"

He said: "At any time you like!" I answered: "The Battle of Badr."

Maʾmūn said: "I mean no other! Do you find everyone else's nothing but inferior to Ali's at the Battle of Badr?! Tell me, how many were killed at Badr?" I said: "Sixty-odd pagan men."

He asked: "How many did Ali kill single-handedly?" I said: "I do not know."
He said: "Twenty-three or twenty-two men, and forty by everyone else [put together]." I said: "O Master [sic] of the Faithful! Abū Bakr was with the Prophet in his *ʿarish*."[111]

He asked: "What was he doing?" I answered: "He was directing the campaign."

He said: "Woe on you! Was he directing instead of God's Messenger or as a partner to him or because God's Messenger needed his opinion?! Which of these three cases do you like best?" I said: "I seek refuge in God from Abū Bakr's directing instead of God's Messenger, his being a partner to him, or God's Messenger needing his opinion."

Maʾmūn asked: "If that was the case, what was the virtue of the *ʿarīsh*?! Is not he who struck with his sword for God's Messenger better than he who sat it out?" I said: "The whole army struggled."

He said:

> You are right. Everyone was struggling, but the striker with his sword, the defender of God's Messenger and of whoever sat it out, is better than whoever sat it out. Have you not read God's Book:
>
> لَا يَسْتَوِي الْقَاعِدُونَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ غَيْرُ أُولِي الضَّرَرِ وَالْمُجَاهِدُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ فَضَّلَ اللَّهُ الْمُجَاهِدِينَ بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ عَلَى الْقَاعِدِينَ دَرَجَةً وَكُلًّا وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الْحُسْنَىٰ وَفَضَّلَ اللَّهُ الْمُجَاهِدِينَ عَلَى الْقَاعِدِينَ أَجْرًا عَظِيمًا.
>
> *The sitters out among the believers, not having any injury, and those who strive hard in God's way with their property and their persons are not equal; God has made the strivers with their property and their persons to excel the sitters out a (high) degree, and to each (class) God has promised good; and God shall grant to the strivers above the sitters out a mighty reward* (4:95).

I said: "Abū Bakr and Omar were also strivers."

Maʾmūn asked: "Were Abū Bakr and Omar superior in any way not testified to by that battle?" I said: "Yes."

He said: "He who sacrificed himself also surpassed Abū Bakr's and Omar's merit in that [respect]." I said: "Really?"

He asked: "O Isḥāq! Do you read the Qurʾan?" I answered: "Yes."

He said:

Recite to me:

هَلْ أَتَىٰ عَلَى الْإِنسَانِ حِينٌ مِّنَ الدَّهْرِ لَمْ يَكُن شَيْئًا مَّذْكُورًا...

There surely came over man a period of time when he was not a thing worth mentioning... (76:1).

I recited it until I reached

يَشْرَبُونَ مِن كَأْسٍ كَانَ مِزَاجُهَا كَافُورًا...

shall drink from a cup the admixture of which is camphor... (76:5) thence to His words:

وَيُطْعِمُونَ الطَّعَامَ عَلَىٰ حُبِّهِ مِسْكِينًا وَيَتِيمًا وَأَسِيرًا...

...and they give food out of love for Him to the poor, the orphan and the captive... (76:8).

He said: "Slow down! About whom were these verses revealed?" I replied: "About Ali."

He asked: "Have you been informed that when Ali fed the poor, the orphan, and the captive he said: 'We are only feeding you out of love for God!'" I replied: "Yes."

He asked: "Have you ever heard God describe in His Book anyone as He has described Ali?!" I answered: "No."

He said: "You have spoken the truth! Because God, sublime is His remembrance, knows [Ali's] conduct. O Isḥāq, did you not testify that the ten given glad tidings[112] are in Heaven?!" I answered: "Yes, O Master [sic] of the Faithful."

He asked: "Now, tell me, if someone said: 'By God, I do not know whether this narration is authentic or not, and I do not know if God's Messenger said it or not,' would he be an unbeliever in your opinion?" I replied: "I seek refuge in God from considering him to be an unbeliever!"

He asked: "Tell me, if someone says: 'I do not know whether this chapter (*Sūrat al-Dahr*) is part of God's Book or not,' would he be an unbeliever?" I replied: "Yes."

Maʾmūn said: "O Isḥāq, I see a difference between the two!"[113]

He asked: "Do you narrate hadith?" I replied: "Yes."

He asked: "Do you know the Bird Hadith[114]?" I replied: "Yes."

He said: "Relate it to me!" So I related the hadith to him.
He said: "I was speaking to you, thinking you were not a stubborn opponent of the truth! Now, however, your obstinacy has become apparent to me! You are certain that this hadith is authentic?" I replied: "Yes. It was related by someone whom I cannot reject."

He said:

> Can you see that someone who believes that this hadith is authentic, but then claims that someone is superior to Ali, has to be one of three things: Either he believes that God's Messenger's prayer was rejected, or that the Mighty and Exalted God made known which of His creatures was superior, but the inferior one was dearer to Him, or the Mighty and Exalted God did not know who was superior from who was inferior!

Isḥāq says:

Thereafter, I bowed my head.

Ma'mūn said: "O Isḥāq! Do not say any of these three! Because if you do say any of them, I will terminate (because of the heresy consequential to saying any of the three). Now, if you have any explanation other than these three, say so." I replied: "I do not know, but Abū Bakr does have merit."

He said: "Yes, if he did have merit, then it would not be said that Ali had greater merit than he. So what merit do you mean now?"

I said:

> The Mighty and Exalted God's words:
>
> ثَانِيَ اثْنَيْنِ إِذْ هُمَا فِي الْغَارِ إِذْ يَقُولُ لِصَاحِبِهِ لَا تَحْزَنْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَنَا.
>
> *...he being the second of the two, when they were both in the cave, when he said to his companion: Grieve not, surely God is with us* (9:40) because in this verse, God describes Abū Bakr as a companion, i.e. a companion to God's Messenger.

Ma'mūn said:

> O Abū Isḥāq! I do not wish to impose difficulty upon you, but I have heard God describe an unbeliever as a companion of someone who was content with Him and with whom He was contented, in saying:

قَالَ لَهُ صَاحِبُهُ وَهُوَ يُحَاوِرُهُ أَكَفَرْتَ بِالَّذِي خَلَقَكَ مِن تُرَابٍ ثُمَّ مِن نُّطْفَةٍ ثُمَّ سَوَّىٰكَ
هُو اللَّهُ رَبِّي وَلَا أُشْرِكُ بِرَبِّي أَحَدًا رَجُلًا، لَّكِنَّا

...so he said to his companion, while he disputed with him: I have greater wealth than you, and have a stronger following. And he entered his garden while he was unjust to himself. He said: I do not think that this will ever perish (18:34–35).

Ma'mūn continued: "Now you insist that I go to the utmost against you! Tell me about Abū Bakr's grief. Was it pleasing or displeasing?" I said: "Abū Bakr was sad about God's Messenger, was fearful for him, and was worried something unpleasant would happen to him."

Ma'mūn said: "This is not the answer to my question! The answer to my question is whether it was pleasing or displeasing!" I answered: "It was pleasing to God."

[Ma'mūn] said: "As if God, Exalted is His remembrance, would send us a Messenger who says not to please and obey God!" I said: "I seek refuge in God!"

He asked: "Did you not say that Abū Bakr's grief was pleasing to God?" I replied: "Yes!"

He asked: "Have you not noticed that the Qur'an testifies that God's Messenger said: *Grieve not*, telling him not to grieve? I said: "I seek refuge in God!"

[Ma'mūn] said: "O Isḥāq! My way is to be kind to you so that God may steer you back to the truth, and turn you away from falsehood because of how much you seek refuge in Him! Tell me about God's words: *So God sent down His peace upon him*. Whom does He mean by that, God's Messenger or Abū Bakr?" I replied: "God's Messenger."

He said: "You have spoken the truth! Tell me about God's words: ... *at the Battle of Ḥunayn, when your great numbers elated you* (9:25) up to:[115] *Then, God sent His peace down upon the Messenger and upon the believers* (9:26). Do you know whom God means by *the believers* in this matter?" I replied: "I do not know, O Master [sic] of the Faithful."

He said:

> Everybody deserted at the Battle of Ḥunayn, leaving only seven Hāshimites with God's Messenger: Ali, striking with his sword before God's Messenger, ʿAbbās, holding the bridle of God's Messenger's mule, and five others surrounding him, fearing the people

would wound him, until God granted His Messenger victory. The *believers* on this occasion means Ali exclusively, followed by the other Hāshimites who were with him. Now, tell me who is better, he who was with God's Messenger at that time or he who deserted him, God not seeing him make a stand, to send [His peace] down upon him?!

I replied: "He upon whom [God's] peace was sent down."

Ma'mūn asked:

O Isḥāq! Who was superior? He who was with [the Prophet] in the Cave or he who slept in his bed, risking his life to protect him so that God's Messenger could achieve his desired flight?!

The Blessed and Exalted God commanded His Messenger to order Ali to sleep in his bed, risking his life to save God's Messenger. So God's Messenger ordered him accordingly. Thereafter, Ali wept, so God's Messenger asked him: "Why are you crying, Ali? For fear of death?" He replied: "No, by Him Who sent you with the truth, God's Messenger. Rather, for fear for you. Will you be safe, God's Messenger?"

The Prophet said: "Yes!" Ali said: "Hearing and obeying, and gladly may I be made your sacrifice O Messenger of God!"

Ali went to the Prophet's bed, lay on his side, and spread [the Prophet's] garment over himself. The polytheists from Quraysh came and surrounded him, not doubting that he was God's Messenger. They had agreed that one man from each clan (*baṭn*) from Quraysh would strike him with his sword, so that the Hāshimites would not be able to take revenge on any given clan. In the meantime, Ali could hear what they had agreed—to end his life. That did not make him frightened the way his counterpart in the Cave was—instead, he was patient, reckoning [on reward from God], so God sent His angels to protect him from Quraysh's polytheists until he woke up in the morning. When he did wake up in the morning the people looked at him and asked: "Where is Muhammad?"'

Ali answered: "How would I know where Muhammad is?!" The pagans said: "We have seen you do nothing but risk your life since last night!"

Ali just kept getting better and better than how he began, never lessening until God took him up to Himself.

> O Isḥāq! Do you ever relate the Guardianship Hadith (the Ghadīr Hadith)?

I replied: "Yes, Master [sic] of the Faithful." He said: "Narrate it." So I did so. He asked: "O Isḥāq! Did you see this hadith impose a duty upon Abū Bakr and Omar that it did not impose upon him to them?"

I said:

> The people say that it was just because of Zayd Ibn Ḥārithah, because of something that had happened between him and Ali. [Zayd Ibn Ḥārithah] had rejected Ali's leadership, so God's Messenger said:
>
> من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه. اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه.
>
> "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy."

Maʾmūn asked: "At what stage did [the Prophet] say this? Was it not after turning back after the Farewell Pilgrimage?" I answered: "Yes."

[Maʾmūn] asked: "But if Zayd Ibn Ḥārithah was killed before the Ghadīr, how can you content yourself with that? Tell me, if you saw a son of yours who had reached fifteen years say: 'My servant is the servant of my cousin, people, so know that,' would you rebuke him over that?" I replied: "God, yes!"

[Maʾmūn] asked:

> O Isḥāq, do you consider your son to be above something that you do not consider God's Messenger to be above?! Woe on you! Do not make your jurisprudents your lords?! God, Exalted is His remembrance, says in His Book:
>
> اتَّخَذُوا أَحْبَارَهُمْ وَرُهْبَانَهُمْ أَرْبَابًا مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ
>
> *They have taken their rabbis and monks as lords, instead of God...* (9:31) even though they did not pray to them, fast, or claim that they were lords; however, they commanded them and they obeyed their commandments.

> O Isḥāq! Do you relate the hadith: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses"?

I said: "Yes, O Master [sic] of the Faithful, I have heard it, and I have heard who considers it to be authentic, and who rejects it!"

[Ma'mūn] asked: "Who of those you have heard from is more reliable in your opinion, he who considers it to be authentic or he who rejects it?" I replied: "He who considers it to be authentic."

[Ma'mūn] asked: "Can God's Messenger have been joking in saying this?!" I replied: "I seek refuge in God!"

He asked: "So he said something meaningless that cannot be comprehended?" I said: "I seek refuge in God!"

He asked: "Do you not know that Aaron was Moses's brother through both his father and his mother?" I said: "Yes."

He asked: "So Ali was God's Messenger's brother through both his father and his mother?!" I said: "No!"

He said: "Is it not [the case] that Aaron was a prophet, but Ali was not a prophet?!" I said: "Yes."

He said: "Neither applied to Ali, though both applied to Aaron. So what do his words mean: 'You are to me as Aaron was to Moses'?" I said: "He just wanted to reassure Ali when the hypocrites said: 'He only left him behind because he finds him annoying.'"

[Ma'mūn] said: "So he wanted to reassure with a meaningless statement!" I bowed my head [Isḥāq says].

Ma'mūn continued: "O Isḥāq, it has a clear meaning in God's Book." I asked: "What is that, O Master [sic] of the Faithful?"

He replied:

> It is what the Mighty and Exalted quotes Moses as saying to his brother Aaron:
>
> اخْلُفْنِي فِي قَوْمِي وَأَصْلِحْ وَلَا تَتَّبِعْ سَبِيلَ الْمُفْسِدِينَ.
>
> *Take my place among my people, and act well and do not follow the way of the mischief-makers* (7:142).

I said: "O Master [sic] of the Faithful, Moses only left his brother Aaron in charge of his tribe when he himself was still alive, and set out to [meet] his Lord; God's Messenger left Ali in charge in a similar way when he went into battle." [That is, there is an ocean of difference between leaving him in charge of his tribe and leaving him in charge of the entire nation.]

Ma'mūn said: "Certainly not! It is not as you say! Tell me when Moses left Aaron in charge of his tribe, were any of his companions or any of the Israelites with him when he went to [meet] his Lord?!" I replied: "No."

He asked: "Did he not leave him in charge of all of them?" I replied: "Yes!"

Then he continued: "Now tell me, when God's Messenger went to fight, did he leave anyone else behind apart from the weak, women, and children? How can it be the same?" ["You are to me as Aaron was to Moses" means that Ali was in charge of the entire nation just as Aaron was left in charge of the entire nation, not just a wartime deputy charged with looking after the weak, women, and children.]

Then Ma'mūn said: "I have another interpretation from God's Book that proves the Master of the Faithful Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's successorship that no one can dispute. I do not know anyone who has relied on it as evidence, and I hope that there will be a grant of success from God." I asked: "What is that, O Master [sic] of the Faithful?"

Ma'mūn replied:

> The Mighty and Exalted's words, quoting Moses as saying:
>
> وَاجْعَل لِّي وَزِيرًا مِّنْ أَهْلِي. هَارُونَ أَخِي. اشْدُدْ بِهِ أَزْرِي. وَأَشْرِكْهُ فِي أَمْرِي. كَيْ نُسَبِّحَكَ كَثِيرًا. وَنَذْكُرَكَ كَثِيرًا. إِنَّكَ كُنتَ بِنَا بَصِيرًا.
>
> *And appoint as an aide to me from among people*
> *Aaron, my brother.*
> *Strengthen my back through him,*
> *And associate him in my affair,*
> *So that we may glorify You much,*
> *And remember You often.*
> *Surely, You are seeing us.* (20:29–35)
>
> So, Ali, you are to me as Aaron was to Moses: my aide from among my people, my brother through whom God has strengthened my back, associated in my affair, so that we may glorify Him much and remember Him often.
>
> Now, can anyone interpret this any other way without invalidating what the Prophet said, making it meaningless?

[Isḥāq says:] The session went on, and the sun was high up (*irtafaʿa al-nahār*), so Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham said: "O Master [sic] of the Faithful, you

have made the truth clear to whomever God wishes well, and proved that which no one can refute."

[Isḥāq says:] Then, Ma'mūn turned to us and asked: "What do you say?" We replied: "We all say as the Master [sic] of the Faithful says, may God strengthen him!"

[Ma'mūn] said: "By God, if God's Messenger had not said: 'Accept what people say,' I would not accept what you say. O God! I have advised them orally. O God! I have discharged the duty from around my neck. O God! I worship You by seeking Your favor by loving Ali and accepting him as Master."

Immediately after this session, Ma'mūn wrote to ʿAbd al-Jabbār Ibn Saʿd Masāḥiqī, his agent in Medina: "Deliver a sermon to the people and invite them to pledge allegiance to Ali Ibn Mūsā [al-Riḍā]."

Thereafter, ʿAbd al-Jabbār stood up and said:

يا ايها الناس، هذا الامر الذى كنتم فيه ترغبون، والعدل الذى كنتم تنتظرون، والخير الذى كنتم ترجون، هذا على بن موسى بن جعفر بن محمد بن على بن الحسين بن على بن أبى طالب ستة آباء، هم ما هم من خير من يشرب صوب الغمام.[116]

O ye people! This is what you desired, the justice you awaited, the goodness you hoped for. This is Ali Ibn Mūsā Ibn Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, six forbears who are what they are—the best to drink [water] rained from clouds.

*****

Ma'mūn also relied on the Ghadīr Hadith to prove the holy Imams were worthiest in his letter of response to the Abbasids, refuting their objection to his handing over the Caliphate to Ali Ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā.

Ma'mūn's Letter of Response to the Abbasids Adducing the Ghadīr Hadith as Evidence

Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah says in chapter 92 after quoting this letter:

Ibn Maskawayh, the chronicler, writes in *Nadīm al-Farīd*: "Ma'mūn wrote a letter to the Abbasids. This letter is long and is all about the Master of the Faithful's being worthiest and most entitled to the Caliphate."

We quote some paragraphs from it:

فلما قبض حكم بالنبي صلى الله عليه وآله القوم ليقتلوه، فهاجر الى المدينة الى القوم الانصار، ولم يقم معه صلى الله عليه وآله احد كقيام علي بن أبي طالب، فانه وقاه بنفسه، ونام في مضجعه، ثم لم يزل بعد متمسكا باطراف الثغور، ينازل الابطال، ولا ينكل عن قرن، ولا يولي عن جيش، منيع القلب، يؤمر على الجميع، ولا يؤمر عليه احد، اشد الناس وطأة على المشركين، واعظمهم جهادا في الله، واقمهم في دين الله، واقرأهم لكتاب الله، واعرفهم بالحلال والحرام، وهو صاحب الولاية في حديث غدير خم وصاحب قوله صلى الله عليه وآله: انت مني بمنزلة هارون من موسى الا انه لا نبي بعدي.[117]

So when [Abū Ṭālib] was taken, the tribe [of Quraysh] issued a command to kill the Prophet, so he migrated to Medina, to the Supporters' tribe. No one did for him what Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib did because he risked his life for him, slept on his bed, and then carried on holding together the edges of the cracks, challenging heroes, never shrinking from any matched opponent, never running away from any army, strong-hearted, put in charge of everyone else, and no one else ever put in charge of him.

He was the fiercest against the polytheists, was the greatest struggler for God's sake, had the best understanding of God's religion, was the best at reciting God's Book, and was the most knowledgeable on what is lawful and unlawful. His is the authority in the Ghadīr Khumm Hadith, and he it was about whom God's Messenger said:

انت مني بمنزلة هارون من موسى الا انه لا نبي بعدي.

"You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."

Abū al-Hasan Ali Ibn Husayn Masʿūdī relates at the end of volume 2 of *Murūj al-Dhahab*, at the end of the section dedicated to the life of the Master of the Faithful:

The things through which God's Messenger's companions attain merit are being the foremost to believe, migrating, assisting God's Messenger, being closely related to God's Messenger, conviction, giving up their lives for him, knowledge of the Book [of God] and its revelation, struggling in the way of God, abstinence [from what is forbidden], asceticism, justice, judgment, integrity, and knowledge.

Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib has the greatest share of all of these, so much so that he was the only one about whom God's Messenger said: "You are my brother!"

And we know that God's Messenger had no equal, neither a rival nor a partner. He also said to him alone: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophet after me," and: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master; O God be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy."

Apart from these, there was his prayer when Anas put a [fried] bird before him: "O God, send in to me the most beloved of your creation to me to eat of this [fried] bird with me." Thereafter Ali came to see him...[118]

We should note that apart from these fourteen arguments, there are other important arguments presented by ᶜAmmār Ibn Yāsir at the Battle of Ṣiffin, by Qays Ibn Saᶜd Ibn ᶜUbaydah to Muᶜāwiyah, by Omar Ibn ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz Ibn Marwān the Umayyad ruler and other famous people. However, we content ourselves with what suffices us here. We now end this valuable discussion with couplets composed by Ṣāḥib Ibn ᶜAbbād, may God be pleased with him, seeking [God's] favor through the Prophet and the Immaculate Imams:

بمحمد ووصيه وابنيهما الطاهرين وسيد العباد 1

ومحمد وبجعفر بن محمد وسمي مبعوث بشاطئ الواد 2

وعلي الطوسي ثم محمد وعلي المسموم ثم الهادي 3

حسن واتبع بعده بإمامة القائم المبعوث بالمرصاد 4

1. By Muhammad, and his Executor and their two pure Sons, and the Master of the worshipers.
2. And [by] Muhammad, and Jaᶜfar Ibn Muhammad, and the Envoy's namesake, by the edge of the valley.
3. And Ali Tūsī, then Muhammad, and poisoned Ali then the guide
4. Hasan, and I follow after him the Implementer whose reappearance is awaited!

Lessons One Hundred Twenty-Eight to One Hundred Thirty

The Revelation of the Verse

سَأَلَ سَائِلٌ بِعَذَابٍ وَاقِعٍ

A petitioner prayed

and the Verse

فامطر علينا حجارة من السماء

then rain upon us stones from heaven

about the Man Who Denied the Ghadīr Hadith

LESSONS ONE HUNDRED TWENTY-EIGHT TO ONE HUNDRED THIRTY

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

And blessing upon Muhammad and his pure Household, and God's curse upon his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection! There is no power or strength except through Lofty Glorious God.

Wise God says in His Glorious Book:

سَأَلَ سَائِلٌ بِعَذَابٍ وَاقِعٍ لِلْكَافِرِينَ لَيْسَ لَهُ دَافِعٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ ذِي الْمَعَارِجِ

A petitioner prayed for inevitable punishment for the unbelievers, from which there is no protection, from God, the Lord of the ways of ascent (70:1–3) (i.e. the punishment that came down from Heaven upon Ḥārith Ibn Nuʿmān Fahrī, or Jābir Ibn Naṣr Ibn Ḥārith Ibn Kaldah, killing him for objecting to God's Messenger's appointment of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as successor and master).

Yes indeed, he who knowingly denied Ali's authority deserved this chastisement and exemplary punishment because he denied the very foundation of creation and legislation and thus deserved to be obliterated!

Abū al-ʿUlā says about God's Messenger's explicit appointment of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as successor: "I do not claim that [Ali] is an envoy prophet, but he does have explicitly appointed, absolute divinely [granted] authority. There is no doubt about that!"

1 علی امامی بعد الرسول سیشفع فی عرصة الحق لی

2 ولا ادعی لعلی سوی فضائل فی العقل لم تشکل

3 ولا ادعی انه مرسل ولکن امام بنص جلی

4 وقول الرسول له اذ اتی له سیما الفاضل المفضل

5 الا ان من کنت مولی له فمولاه من غیر شک علی.[119]

1. After the Messenger, Ali is my Imam who will intercede for me in the Real's Courtyard.
2. And I claim nothing for Ali, but merits that are logical and indubitable.

3. And I do not claim that he is an envoy, but rather by the manifest text and statement of the Prophet, he is the Imam and Leader.
4. And by the Messenger's words about him, when the virtuous one, singled out for conferment, came to him:
5. "Lo! Whoever's Master I am, without a doubt, so too is Ali is Master."

And concerning his appointment as Master, Abū al-Faraj says:

تجلى الهدى يوم الغدير على الشبه وبرز ابريز البيان عن الشبه 1
واكمل رب العرش للناس دينهم كما نزل القرآن فيه واعربه 2
وقام رسول الله في الجمع جاذبا بضبع على ذي التعالي من الشبه 3
وقال: الا من كنت مولى لنفسه فهذا له مولى فيالك منقبه.[120] 4

1. On the Day of Ghadīr, guidance manifested over misconceptions, and the purest gold of elucidation was made distinct from alloys!
2. And the Lord of the Throne perfected the people's religion for them; in the same way as the Qur'an had been revealed about it and made it clear.
3. God's Messenger stood up among the people lifting the upper arm of Ali, [who is] elevated above having peers
4. And said: "Lo! Whoever's soul's Master I am, so too is this his Master, and what an achievement this is!"

Ibn al-Rūmī says:

يا هند لم اعشق ومثلي لا يرى عشق النساء ديانة وتحرجا 1
لكن حبي للوصي مخيم في الصدر يسرح في الفؤاد تولجا 2
هو السراج المستنير ومن به سبب النجاة من العذاب لمن نجا 3
واذا تركت له المحبة لم اجد يوم القيمة من ذنوبي مخرجا 4
قل لي: أأترك مستقيم طريقه جهلا واتبع الطريق الاعوجا 5
واراه كالتبر المصفى جوهرا وارى سواه لناقديه مبهرجا 6
ومحله من كل فضل بين عال محل الشمس او بدر الدجى 7
قال النبي له مقالا لم يكن يوم الغدير لسامعيه تهجما 8
من كنت مولاه فذا مولى له مثلي واصبح في الفخار متوجا 9
وكذاك اذ منع البتول جماعة خطبوا واكرمه بها اذ زوجا.[121] 10

1. O Hind! I have not fallen in love, and my ilk does not consider infatuation with women to be worship and avoids it!
2. However, my love for the Executor is a canopy in my chest, finding a way into my heart to settle within!
3. Because he is the shining light and he in whom is the only means of salvation from punishment for whoever is saved!
4. If I stop loving him, then on the Day of Resurrection, I will find no escape from my sins.
5. Tell me: Should I leave the straightness of his path in ignorance, and follow the crooked path?!
6. I see him as an essence like pure gold, and see his critics differently—as tawdry!
7. With regard to any virtue, his position is clear; high, like the position of the sun, or the full moon amidst gloom!
8. The Prophet said something about him on the Day of Ghadīr, leaving nothing ambiguous:
9. Whoever's Master I am, so too is this his Master like me. Thus, he became proudly crowned!
10. Just like when [the Prophet] refused all the chaste's (*batūl*) suitors, but honored [Ali] by marrying [him to her].[122]

Abū Isḥāq Thaʿlabī Nīshābūrī says in his exegesis *al-Kashf wa al-Bayān*:

> Sufyān Ibn ʿUyaynah was asked about whom the Mighty and Exalted God's words *A petitioner prayed for inevitable punishment* were revealed, so he replied:
>
> > You have asked me a question that no one before you has asked. My father related to me from Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad from his forefathers, God's blessings upon them:
> >
> > > When God's Messenger was at Ghadīr Khumm, he called everyone to assemble. He then took Ali's hand and said: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master." This [announcement] spread and flew around the country, reaching Ḥarth Ibn Nuʿmān Fahrī, so he went on a she-camel of his to God's Messenger. He arrived in the basin (*abṭaḥ*), dismounted from his camel, made it kneel down [to rest], and said:
> > >
> > > > O Muhammad, you commanded us on God's behalf to testify that there is no god except God and that you are God's Messenger! We accepted it! You commanded us to pray five times [a day], and we accepted it from you! You commanded us to give alms and we accepted it! You commanded us to fast for a month and we accepted it. Then, you were not content with this until you had lifted up your

cousin's upper arm, elevated him above us, and said: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master!"

Now is this something from you, or from Mighty and Exalted God?'

So the Prophet replied: "I swear by Him apart from Whom there is no other god, that this is from God!"

Thereafter, Ḥarth Ibn Nuʿmān turned around, heading towards his camel, and said:

اللهم ان كان ما يقول محمد حقا فامطر علينا حجارة من السماء او ائتنا بعذاب اليم.[123]

"O God! If what Muhammad says is true, then rain stones from Heaven upon us or visit a painful punishment upon us!"

[Ḥarth Ibn Nuʿmān] had hardly reached [his camel] when God smote him with a stone. It fell on his head, came out of his bottom, and killed him! The Mighty and Exalted God revealed: *A petitioner prayed for inevitable punishment...*[124]

Sibṭ Ibn Jawzī relates this hadith in the same way from *Tafsīr al-Thaʿlabī*, but says about God's Messenger's reply to Ḥarth Ibn Nuʿmān:

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله وقد احمرت عيناه: والله الذى لا اله الا هو انه من الله وليس مني. قالها ثلاثا.[125]

God's Messenger replied, his eyes having turned red [in anger]: "By God apart from Whom there is no other god, it is from God and not from me." He said it three times.

Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī narrates this hadith in full from Thaʿlabī's exegesis *al-Kashf wa al-Bayān* (*Uncovering and Explaining*). He also adds that when Ḥarth reached God's Messenger, he was sitting among the Migrants and Supporters and that Ḥarth also objected: "O Muhammad, you came to us and told us not to worship 360 gods, and told us: 'God is One,' and we said that with you! You told us: 'Struggle,' and we accepted [it] from you!"

He says at the end of the story:

God, the Exalted, cast a stone from Heaven. It fell on his head and killed him on the spot. God revealed:

سئل سائل بعذاب واقع-للكافرين ليس له دافع.

A petitioner prayed for inevitable punishment for the unbelievers, from which there is no protection. The Exalted Real sent His mercy, but he wanted punishment! He said:

> As mercy was of no use to you, no one can stop you from being punished!
>
> ليس له دافع من الله ذى المعارج.
>
> *There is no protection, from God, the Lord of the ways of ascent.* I sent a Guardianship in which I have bound the perfection of the religion and the completion of the favor. *This day have I perfected for you your religion.*
>
> He who was perfect was one of the children, so I raised him until he reached the level of perfection of the faith.
>
> What do you think of the religion? Because it was a child like he was. I then perfected it by making him Master:
>
> اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم فكمل به الدين طردا وعكسا.
>
> This day have I perfected for you your religion so the religion became perfect in all respects through him, and the religion was like a child. It then attained majority (*balagha*) through delivery (*tabligh*).

كان طفلا كيحيى وعيسى، فصار بالاسلام كاملا قبل وقت الكمال، بالفا قبل وقت البلوغ. فصار الاسلام بولايته بالغا حد الكمال، لابسا بردة الجمال، مترديا برداء الجلال، لما نصب له منبر من الرحال، ورفع عليه خير الرجال، نصب رسول الله ارحلا، ورفع عليه رجلا، وضمه الى صدره، وفتح فاه بنشر ذكره، وكسر سوق اعدائه باعلائه، واخذه بيده، ووقفه عند خده،[126] وجر على اعدائه رجلا بل اجلا، وجزمهم جزما وخجلا، وجرهم جرا. فالمنبر منصوب وصاحبه مرفوع، فالمنبر منصوب صورة ومعنى، وصاحبه مرفوع حقيقة ونحوى، وهو مرفوع وعدوه منصوب، وهو رافع، وعدوه ناصب.

ليت شعرى: عدوه ناصب ام منصوب؟ ناصب اللقب، منصوب المذهب.

فيا عجبا من ناصب هو منصوب.

He was a child like John and Jesus, and then he became perfect through Islam before his time to be perfect, an adult before his time to be an adult. Islam then reached the level of perfection through his being appointed

as leader, wearing the cloak of beauty and donning the mantle of majesty. When the pulpit of saddlebags was set up (*nuṣiba*) for him and the best of men was lifted (*rufiᶜa*) onto it, God's Messenger planted (*naṣab*) his feet, lifted (*rafaᶜa*) a man onto it, and hugged him (*ḍammahu*) to his chest. He opened (*fataḥa*) his mouth spreading mention of him. He broke (*kasara*) his enemies' shanks by elevating him, took him by his hand and stood him by his cheek. He tore (*jarra*) his enemies apart (*rajalan*) and indeed destroyed (*ajalan*) them, cut them short (*jazamahum jazzman*) embarrassingly and ripped them apart (*jarrahum jarran*). The pulpit was set up (*manṣūb*) and the man atop it was raised up (*marfūᶜ*) so the pulpit was figuratively and allegorically subjunctive (*manṣūb*) while the man atop it was literally and by way of purport nominative (*marfūᶜ*), he being raised up (*marfūᶜ*) and his enemy leveled (*manṣūb*), he elevating (*rāfiᶜ*) and his enemy openly hostile (*nāṣib*). I wonder, does his enemy govern subjunctive (*nāṣib*) or is he subjunctive (*manṣūb*), described as openly hostile (*nāṣib*) and fixed in his position (*manṣūb al-madhhab*)? How amazing—a word governing the subjunctive (*nāṣib*), which is itself in the subjunctive (*manṣūb*)!

If you think about it, all the rules governing the voweling of desinential inflection and indeclinables are in this statement![127]

In his *al-Manāqib* (*The Book of Virtues*), Ibn Shahr Āshūb relates the story of Ḥarth Ibn Nuᶜmān, as did we, on the authority of Abū ᶜUbayd, Thaᶜlabī, Sufyān Ibn ᶜUyaynah, Rāzī,[128] Qazvīnī, Nīshābūrī, Ṭabarsī, and Ṭūsī. At the end of the section, he says: "*Sharḥ al-Akhbār* (*Commentary on the Narrations*) says: '*What? Do they still seek to hasten on our punishment?* (26:204) was revealed; Abū Nuᶜaym Faḍl Ibn Dakīn relates it.'"

Awnī says:

1 يقول رسول الله هذا الأمتي هو اليوم مولى رب ما قلت فاسمع

2 فقام جحود ذو شقاق منافق ينادي رسول الله من قلب موجع

3 اعن ربنا هذا ام انت اخترعته فقال: معاذ الله لست بمبدع

4 فقال عدو الله: لاهم ان يكن كما قال حقا بي عذابا فاوقع

5 فعوجل من افق السماء بكفره بجندلة فانكب ثاو بمصرع.[129]

1. God's Messenger says: "Today, this man, is Master to my nation. Lord, hear what I have said!"
2. In the meantime, a denier, a source of discord, a hypocrite, stood up addressing God's Messenger with a painful heart:

3. "Is this from our Lord, or have you invented it?!" He replied: "God forbid. I am not an innovator!"
4. Then God's enemy said: "O God, if as he has said is true, then visit upon me a punishment!"
5. So a stone was immediately [cast upon] him because of his disbelief and he fell face down slumbering there slain.

Ḥākim Ḥaskānī narrates this incident via five routes:

1. From ᶜAbdullāh Shīrāzī, via his chain from Sufyān Ibn ᶜUyaynah, from Imam Jaᶜfar Ṣādiq, from Imam Muhammad Bāqir, from the Master of the Faithful.[130] He says that the denying hypocrite's name was Nuᶜmān Ibn Ḥarth Fahrī.
2. From a number of people, from Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Naṣr Ibn Jaᶜfar Ḍabʿī, via his chain from Sufyān Ibn ᶜUyaynah, from Imam Jaᶜfar Ibn Muhammad, from Imam Muhammad Ibn Ali, from Imam Ali Ibn al-Husayn.[131]
3. From *Tafsīr ᶜAtīq*, from Ibrāhīm Ibn Muhammad Kūfī, via his chain from Jābir Juᶜfī, from Imam Muhammad Bāqir.
4. From Abū al-Hasan Farsī, from Abū Muhammad Baghdādī, via their chain from Sufyān Ibn Saʿīd, from Manṣūr, from Ribʿī, from Ḥudhayfah Ibn al-Yamān. The denying hypocrite's name was Nuᶜmān Ibn Mundhar Fahrī. All the narrators of this hadith are reliable.
5. From Othman, from Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm Kūfī, via his chain from Saʿīd Ibn Abī Saʿīd Muqrī [a teacher of Qurʾanic recitation], from Abū Hurayrah.

Shaykh al-Islam Ḥamwīnī narrates from Shaykh ᶜImād al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Badrān Ibn Shibl Maqdisī in the town of Nablus:

> Amongst what he licensed me to narrate from Qāḍī Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad Ibn Muhammad Anṣārī, via an unbroken chain from Abū Isḥāq Thaᶜlabī, in his exegesis from Sufyān Ibn ᶜUyaynah, from Imam Jaᶜfar Ibn Muhammad,[132] from his forefathers. This narration says that Ḥarth Ibn Nuᶜmān Fahrī got on his she-camel, and descended on God's Messenger in a basin-shaped valley (*abṭaḥ*). He said what he said...

At the end, Ḥamwīnī says:

> An (*abṭaḥ*) is a wide river basin full of sand and pebbles. The feminine is *baṭḥāʾ*. It is an adjective that simply pushes aside [and replaces] the noun that it describes, like *rākib* (rider or passenger), *ṣāḥib* (owner or companion), *awraq* (dusky white camel), and *aṭlas* (old and worn out garment). One says: "*Tabaṭṭaḥ al-sayl*," meaning "the torrent flowed widely."[133]

Ghāyat al-Marām quotes this hadith verbatim from Ibrāhīm Ibn Muhammad Ḥamwīnī.[134]

Shaykh Muhammad Zarandī Ḥanafī tells the full story on the authority of Abū Isḥāq Thaʿlabī's exegesis.[135]

Ibn Ṣabbāgh also cites it on the authority of Thaʿlabī's commentary.[136]

It is also quoted in Burhān al-Dīn Ḥalabī Shāfiʿī's (d. 1044 AH) *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*.[137]

In his exegesis, Abū al-Saʿūd says about the background to the revelation of the verse

سأل سائل

He [i.e. Naẓar Ibn Ḥārith] petitioned or prayed, saying incredulously and mockingly:

ان كان هذا هو الحق من عندك فامطر علينا حجارة من السماء او ائتنا بعذاب اليم.

If this is the truth from Thee, then rain upon us stones from heaven or inflict on us a painful punishment (8:32). [Alternatively,] it is said: [that the petitioner was] Abū Jahl when he said:

اسقط علينا كسفا من السماء.[138]

It is said [as another alternative that the petitioner was] Ḥarth Ibn Nuʿmān Fahrī, and the story goes that when what God's Messenger said about Ali—"Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master"—reached him, he said: "O God! If what Muhammad says is true, then rain upon us stones from Heaven."

No sooner [had he said this] than Exalted God smote him with a stone. It fell on his brain and came out of his bottom, and he died instantly.[139]

In his exegesis, Qurṭubī says about this verse:

The petitioner was al-Naḍr Ibn al-Ḥārith who said:

اللهم ان كان هذا هو الحق من عندك فامطر علينا حجارة من السماء او ائتنا بعذاب اليم.

O God, *if this is the truth from Thee, then rain upon us stones from heaven or inflict on us a painful punishment*. Thereafter, the answer to his [prayer] was sent down. He was beheaded as a prisoner of war (*ṣabran*) at the Battle of Badr.[140] He, as well as ʿAqabah Ibn Abī Muʿayṭ, was a prisoner of war who was killed, and no other prisoners of war were killed.

This is what Ibn ʿAbbās and Mujāhid say.

> It is said [in the alternative] that the petitioner was Ḥārith Ibn Nuʿmān Fahrī. It was when what God's Messenger said about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master," reached him. He got on his she-camel and went along, eventually making his mount kneel in the basin-shaped valley. He then said: "O Muhammad..." [and so on] up to the end of all his objections.[141]

When ʿAllāmah Amīnī states the name of the man who denied the Master of the Faithful's authority on the authority of *Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī*, he says Naḍr Ibn Ḥārith, and then in the footnote: "This Naḍr is Naḍr Ibn Ḥārith Ibn Kaldah Ibn ʿAbd Manāf Kaldarī."

This is a mistake, because Naḍr was taken prisoner by the Muslims at the Battle of Badr, and was a staunch enemy of God's Messenger, so he ordered that he be killed in custody, and the Master of the Faithful did so, according to *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol. 2, p. 282, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 286, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 34, and elsewhere.[142]

It is clear from what we have quoted from *Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī* that there is no mistake in the hadith, because Qurṭubī says that the petitioner was Naḍr Ibn Ḥārith, who was killed at Badr. He then says that it is said [in the alternative] that the petitioner was Ḥārith Ibn Nuʿmān Fahrī, who objected to the Master of the Faithful's authority. Thus, there is no difference between what Qurṭubī and the other exegetes say.

Apart from what we have quoted senior Sunni scholars as saying—about *Sūrat al-Maʿārij* having been revealed about a man who denied [Ali's] authority—ʿAllāmah Amīnī also quotes a number of others, such as Ḥāfiẓ Abū ʿUbayd Harawī in *Tafsīr Gharīb al-Qurʾān*, Abū Bakr Naqqāsh Mawṣilī in *Shifāʾ al-Ṣudūr*, Ḥākim Ḥaskānī in *Duʿāt al-Hudāt ilā Ḥaqq al-Muwalāt*, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Dawlatābādī in *Hidāyat al-Suʿadāʾ*, Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Ḥasanī Samhūdī Shāfiʿī in *Jawāhir al-Naqdayn*, Shams al-Dīn Sharbīnī Qādirī Shāfiʿī in *al-Sirāj al-Munīr*, Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Shīrāzī in *al-Arbaʿīn fī Manāqib Amīr al-Muminīn*, Sayyid Ibn ʿĪdrūs Ḥusaynī Yamānī in *al-ʿAqd al-Nabawī wa al-Sirr al-Muṣṭafawī*, Shaykh Aḥmad Ibn Bākthīr Makkī Shāfiʿī in *Wasīlat al-Miʾāl fī ʿIdd Manāqib al-Āl*, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ṣafūrī in *al-Nuzhah*, Sayyid Maḥmūd Ibn Muhammad Qādirī Madanī in *al-Ṣirāṭ al-Sawī fī Manāqib al-Nabī*, Shams al-Dīn Ḥafnī Shāfiʿī in *Sharḥ al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr li al-Suyūṭī*, Shaykh Muhammad Ṣadr al-ʿĀlam in *Maʿārij al-ʿUlā fī Manāqib al-Murtaḍā*, Shaykh Muhammad Maḥbūb al-ʿĀlam in *Tafsīr Shāhī*, Shaykh Aḥmad Ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir Ḥifẓī Shāfiʿī, in *Dhakhīrat al-Miʾāl fī Sharḥ ʿIqd Jawāhir*

al-Āl, Sayyid Muhammad Ibn Ismāʿīl Yamānī in *al-Rawḍat al-Nadiyyah fī Sharḥ al-Tuḥfat al-ʿAlawiyyah*, Sayyid Muʾmin Shiblanjī Shāfiʿī in *Nūr al-Abṣār fī Manāqib Āl Bayt al-Nabī al-Mukhtār*, and Shaykh Muhammad ʿAbduh Miṣrī in *Tafsīr al-Manār*. Altogether, ʿAllāmah Amīnī cites thirty books.[143]

In *Ghāyat al-Marām*, Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī narrates two hadiths from the Sunnis and six hadiths from the Shiʿa about the background to the revelation of the verse *A petitioner prayed...*[144]

And ʿAllāmah Majlisī cites it via three routes in *Biḥār al-Anwār*: 1) from Ḥākim Ḥaskānī in *Duʿāt al-Hudāt ilā Ḥaqq al-Muwālāt*, 2) from Thaʿlabī, in his exegesis, and 3) from the author of *al-Nashr wa al-Ṭayy*.[145]

We have investigated this matter, and not one scholar of Islam denies the account of why the verse *A petitioner prayed for an inevitable punishment* was revealed, except Ibn Taymiyyah Ḥarrānī: that antagonistic, unpleasant, visionless, foul-mouthed, ill-natured, rejectionary, rough, hateful man who readied and girded himself to deny all hadith evidence (*maʾthūr*) about the virtues and achievements of the Master of the Guardians, the Master of the Faithful, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. He would reject and categorize it as weak or irregular, but he was just denying light on a bright, sunny day! He was stubbornly insisting on trying to prove that there was no sun and that the world was engulfed in dark night!

With no concern for, and just being rude to, the scholars of Islam, historians, and hadith narrators, Ibn Taymiyyah rejected widely transmitted narrations. Wherever a narration did not suit his approach (*madhhab*), he would openly fabricate lies and make false accusations, calling the Shiʿa Rāfiḍah (rejectionists), atheists, heretics, liars, sinners, people of falsehood, Zoroastrians, and Jews! On every single page of his book he tells lies about the Shiʿa, leveling various accusations against them; he adduces verses from the Qurʾan to seek to prove his claims!

He was like Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf Thaqafī, who had memorized the entire Qurʾan. He would rely on it as evidence and interpret it on a whim in accordance with his own purpose. He would summon the followers of the Master of the Faithful from everywhere in the country and argue with them on the basis of the Qurʾan, claiming that he and his ilk were *those...in authority*, about whom the Qurʾan says:

اطيعوا الله واطيعوا الرسول واولى الامر منكم

obey God, and obey the Messenger, and those of you who are in authority, and then he would discuss with them on the basis of the Qurʾan. He

would let himself be seduced [into doing evil] and spill the blood of those shining stars, those good and noble people, with his sharp sword, and pile up the Shi'a martyrs' mutilated corpses! It is said that he killed seventy thousand or more.

Ibn Taymiyyah was a contemporary of the great scholar, the rare jurisprudent, the best out of early and late scholars, the theologian, sage, exegete, traditionist, and defender of Islam and Shi'ism, 'Allāmah Ḥillī: Hasan Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ḥillī, born either on the eleventh of or eleven days before the end of the month of Ramaḍān, 648 AH,[146] and who died on Friday night, the twenty-first of the Holy Month of Muḥarram, 726;[147] Ibn Taymiyyah was born in 661 and died in 728. That is, he was born exactly thirteen years after 'Allāmah, and died two years after 'Allāmah.

Ibn Taymiyyah opposed rational sciences such as philosophy and theosophy, and was also opposed to those gifted with presential or a priori knowledge, mysticism, and the truth. Time and again, he would attack such people in his book.

That is, he had neither rational science, nor esoteric, secret knowledge of the heart. He just took the Scripture and Sunnah literally without understanding their meanings. He was like the vacuous Khārijites, looking at the world, creatures, the present, the Hereafter, God, Satan, happiness, and wretchedness from the perspective of his own deviant imagination, passing judgment in accordance with it.

He wrote *Minhāj al-Sunnah fī Naqḍ Kalām al-Shī'ah wa al-Qadariyyah* as a refutation of 'Allāmah Ḥillī's *Minhāj al-Karāmah fī Ma'rifat al-Imāmah*.

'Allāmah Ḥillī had written *Minhāj al-Karāmah* for the Ilkhanid Sultan Muhammad Khodā Bandeh (Öljaitü) to prove the Imamate of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and his superiority to all other creatures except God's Messenger, citing Qur'anic verses and indubitable Sunni hadiths.

It was through 'Allāmah Ḥillī's defeat of the great jurisprudents of the four Sunni *madhhabs* (Ḥanafī, Ḥanbalī, Shāfi'ī, and Mālikī) in debate in the year 707 AH that Sultan Muhammad Khodā Bandeh realized that the Shi'a were in the right and that Shi'ism was the true religion. He renounced his own religion and embraced Shi'ism. Then he sent letters to all towns and cities, commanding them to stop mentioning the three "Caliphs" in sermons, and to mention Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib and the other eleven Imams instead,[148] and to carve the names of those great Imams, the Jurisprudents of the Household, in mosques and other places of worship. Shi'ism was to be announced as the official *madhhab*. This edict was obeyed, and by his command,

the names were carved, the sermons were delivered, and the Imams' names, the great Masters' names, were engraved on coins, the very dinars and dirhams used by everyone as legal tender.[149] Even in the grand mosque of Isfahan, in a corner of the portico known as the Khodā Bandeh's portico, are carved the names of the twelve Imams so beautifully and so indelibly that even now, after seven centuries, they look as good as new, and have caught the eyes of experts, the learned and seekers of truth and fact.[150]

ᶜAllāmah Ḥillī was a rare, distinguished world figure whose name is permanently recorded as a critical researcher and jurisprudent. He was a vast ocean of knowledge, an endless sea of wisdom and research, so much so that Shiᶜa jurists have from his own time right up to the present day relied on his books of jurisprudence such as *al-Tadhkirah, al-Taḥrīr, al-Mukhtalaf, al-Muntahā, al-Qawāᶜid,* and *al-Tabṣirah.*

His other books on rational science and theology are *Kashf al-Murād fī Sharḥ Tajrīd al-Iᶜtiqād, Anwār al-Malakūt fī Sharḥ Faṣṣ al-Yāqūt fī al-Kalām, Nihāyat al-Marām fī ᶜIlm al-Kalām, al-Qawāᶜid wa al-Maqāṣid fī al-Manṭiq wa al-Ṭabiᶜī wa al-Ilāhī, al-Asrār al-Ḥaqqiyyah fī al-Ulūm al-ᶜAqliyyah, al-Durr al-Maknūn fī ᶜIlm al-Qānūn, al-Mubāḥathāt al-Saniyyah wa al-Muᶜāraḍāt al-Naṣīriyyah,* and *al-Muqāwamāt,* in which he discussed previous philosophers, and then *Ḥall al-Mushkilāt min Kitāb al-Talwīḥāt* and *Īḍāḥ al-Talbīs fī Kalām al-Raᵓīs,* in which he discusses Shaykh Abū Ali Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qawāᶜid al-Jaliyyah fī Sharḥ al-Risālah* and *al-Jawāhir al-Naḍīd fī Sharḥ al-Tajrīd* on logic, *Īḍāḥ al-Maqāṣid min Ḥikmat ᶜAyn al-Qawāᶜid* on philosophy, *Taslīk al-Nafs ilā Ḥaẓirat al-Quds* on theology, *Marāṣid al-Tadqīq wa Maqāṣid al-Taḥqīq* on logic, natural science, and divinity, *al-Muḥākamāt bayn Shurrāḥ al-Ishārāt* and *Minhāj al-Hidāyah wa Miᶜrāj al-Dirāyah* on theology and *Istiqṣāᵓ al-Naẓar fī al-Qaḍāᵓ wa al-Qadar.*

Apart from *Minhāj al-Karāmah,* ᶜAllāmah wrote other books on the fundamentals of the *madhhab,* such as *Manāhij al-Yaqīn* and *Nahj al-Ḥaqq,* to which Faḍl Ibn Rōzbehān wrote a refutation, *Nahj al-Mustarshidīn, Risālat Wājib al-Iᶜtiqād,* and *Kashf al-Ḥaqq wa Nahj al-Ṣidq* about the debate that took place in front of Sultan Khodā Bandeh, with the scholars of the four Sunni *madhhabs.* At the beginning of his book *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq,* Qāḍī Sayyid Nūrullāh Shūshtarī refers to part of this debate, and explains why ᶜAllāmah defeated the four Sunni scholars with brilliant proofs and evidence—he censured them before the Sultan until they conceded their inability and were all humiliated.

In *Majālis al-Muʾminīn*, Qāḍī Nūrullāh, may God raise his level, says on the authority of *inter alia* the chronicle by Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, a Sunni fanatic:

> When the Moghul Sultan Öljaitü Muhammad, known as Shāh Khodā Bandeh, had a vague notion of the righteousness of the Shiʿa *madhhab* in his mind, he gave an order that all the Sunni scholars be summoned before him. Among those who came before him was ʿAllāmah Ḥillī together with some other Shiʿa scholars. In that session, [the Sultan] commanded Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Mālik Marāghī, one of the best Shāfiʿī scholars, to debate the matter of the Imamate with ʿAllāmah Ḥillī.
>
> It so happened that ʿAllāmah defeated him, with his strong proof of the rightfulness of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's Caliphate, and the invalidity of the three "Caliphs'" claim such that no one present was left in any doubt.[151] And as Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Mālik Marāghī realized his error, embarrassment, and defeat, he began praising ʿAllāmah and enumerating his good merits and virtues. He said: "The strength of this shaykh's (ʿAllāmah's) evidence is extremely clear. It is just that the first generation of Muslims followed a particular path, and our later scholars kept silent to bridle the masses and prevent disunity in the nation! Their secrets should not be revealed and they should not be publicly cursed!"
>
> After this discussion, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū says: "After this session, there were many discussions between ʿAllāmah Ḥillī and Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Mālik Marāghī, in all of which Niẓām al-Dīn maintained respect for ʿAllāmah Ḥillī..."[152]

And of course, this is an achievement by ʿAllāmah, Shiʿism owes him a debt, and it is a great honor for the Shiʿa and the righteous, something that no Sunni (*mukhālif*) or Shiʿa (*muʾālif*) can deny. I have even seen the story told as follows in one Sunni chronicle: "One of the bitter events of the year 707 is Khodā Bandeh's publicly becoming Shiʿa, after being led astray by Ibn Muṭahhar Ḥillī."

Obviously these words issue from a broken heart, unable to deny it![153]

Thereafter, with the Sultan's patronage, ʿAllāmah began strengthening the foundation of the truth and propagating the *madhhab* as he wished. He wrote *Minhāj al-Karāmah*, about the Imamate, and the aforementioned *al-Yaqīn*. He reached the highest level of favor by the Sultan, surpassing all the Sultan's court's other scholars, such as Qāḍī Nāṣir al-Dīn Bayḍāwī, Qāḍī ʿAḍud al-Dīn Ījī, Muhammad Ibn Maḥmūd Āmulī, the author of *Nafāʾis al-Funūn* and *Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar* and so on, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Mālik Marāghī,

Mawlā Badr al-Dīn Shūshtarī, Mawlā ʿIzz al-Dīn Ījī, Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn ʿIbrī, and some others; they were all junior to ʿAllāmah.

ʿAllāmah was so favored by the Sultan that the latter could not bear to be apart from him, both when traveling and when at home, in an effort to keep his thoughts on the path of truth and so his mind would not be warped by Satanic insinuation by Sunnis (*mukhālifīn*) or deviants, and whenever insinuation by atheists appeared, [ʿAllāmah Ḥillī] had to be ready to respond with his knowledge and wisdom. That is why Sultan Muhammad ordered him to set up a mobile [theological] school with quarters for students and canvas tent classrooms. Wherever Khodā Bandeh went, whether with or without his army, ʿAllāmah's mobile school would go with him! And wherever the Sultan stopped, the mobile canvas school would be set up, and students, the teacher, and that eminent scholar would start studying, compiling, and writing.

It is related that at the end of one of ʿAllāmah's books was written: "This book was finished at the Sultan's mobile school in Kirmān-Shāh."

And it is not surprising that Khodā Bandeh would have established such a mobile school, because history books record that he loved knowledge, dearly loved scholars, and had great esteem for the learned and the righteous. Amazingly, ʿAllāmah [Ḥillī] and the Sultan both died in the same year!

ʿAllāmah was taught theology, jurisprudence, legal presumptions (*uṣūl*), Arabic, and all the other religious sciences by his maternal uncle, Najm al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim, Muḥaqqiq Ḥillī, the author of *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, and by his father, Shaykh Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf, rational science, philosophy, and wisdom by the Teacher of Mankind and the twelfth intellect Khājeh Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, Shaykh Omar Kātibī Qazvīnī, and some others, both Shiʿa and Sunnis. He also learned much from the two eminent brothers, Ali Ibn Ṭāwūs and Aḥmad Ibn Ṭāwūs.[154]

Thus, as the knowledge, position, and religious school of ʿAllāmah became well-known, all the opponents about the country were exposed and humiliated. Many copies of ʿAllāmah's books were being made and being and taught in sessions and gatherings. One of these books was *Minhāj al-Karāmah*, which had fallen into Ibn Taymiyyah's hands. Because of the jealousy and hatred he had in his heart, on the one hand, because of the hatred for the "Caliphs" and the loss of their status in people's hearts, and on the other hand, because of the Household's and Imams' high status and the elevation of their names, he wrote *Minhāj al-Sunnah* in an attempt to refute the

true *madhhab*. It is obvious how a book written against the truth, and in hatred will be!

فَمَاذَا بَعْدَ الْحَقِّ إِلَّا الضَّلَالُ فَأَنَّىٰ تُصْرَفُونَ كَذَٰلِكَ حَقَّتْ كَلِمَةُ رَبِّكَ عَلَى الَّذِينَ فَسَقُوا أَنَّهُمْ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ.

...and what is there after the Truth but error; how are you then turned away? Thus does the Word of your Lord prove true against those who transgress, those who do not believe (10:32–33). In this book, he considers the Shi'a to be followers of the Jews![155] He devotes the first three pages of the book to comparing Shi'a beliefs to Jewish beliefs; he does not shy away from and does not stop fabricating lies about the Shi'a or making accusations against them for one minute!

Then, he refers to 'Allāmah as Rāfiḍī (rejectionist), quotes one passage after another from *Minhāj al-Karāmah*, and "refutes" them by saying: "Lie!" He is impudent enough to deny explicitly the pledge of allegiance at the Ghadīr and say: "The Rāfiḍites fabricated it."

All we need say in response is: "Stubborn, jealous person!"

این جهان پر آفتاب و نور و ماه تو بخفته بسر فرو برده به چاه
که اگر حق است پس کو روشنی سر بر آر از چاه و منگر ای دنی
جمله عالم شرق و غرب آن نور یافت تا تو در چاهی نخواهد بر تو تافت

This world is full of sunlight and moonlight, but you are in a slumber, cringing in a pit and asking: "If the sun and moon are real, where is their light?" Poke your head out of the pit and look, O despicable person! The whole world, east and west, has found that light, but you are in a pit, so it will never shine on you!

He does rely on Qur'anic verses, but then he also relies on hadiths that have no chain of transmission and that do not mean what he intends. He contents himself by saying: "Because the pious early Muslims, the three Caliphs, were with God's Messenger, and they gave of their property for Islam, we are never entitled to object to them; they are all righteous and just and are the masters of the nation."

To reject the truth, and to crush givens and fundamentals out of ignorant fanaticism and [pre-Islamic] ignorant fervor is to reject God, His Messenger, and His authority. The following verses say it so well:

قُلْ هَلْ نُنَبِّئُكُمْ بِالْأَخْسَرِينَ أَعْمَالًا، الَّذِينَ ضَلَّ سَعْيُهُمْ فِي الْحَيٰوةِ الدُّنْيَا وَهُمْ يَحْسَبُونَ أَنَّهُمْ يُحْسِنُونَ صُنْعًا، أُولٰئِكَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا بِآيَاتِ رَبِّهِمْ وَلِقَائِهِ فَحَبِطَتْ أَعْمَالُهُمْ فَلَا نُقِيمُ لَهُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ وَزْنًا، ذٰلِكَ جَزَاؤُهُمْ جَهَنَّمُ بِمَا كَفَرُوا وَاتَّخَذُوا آيَاتِي وَرُسُلِي هُزُوًا.

Say: "Shall We inform you about those who have lost the most through deeds?" They are those whose labour is lost in this world's life, though they think that they are doing well. Those are they who disbelieve in their Lord's signs and meeting Him, so their deeds will be in vain, and We shall not give them any weight on the Day of Resurrection. That is their reward—hell—for disbelieving and treating My signs and Messengers as a laughing stock (18:103–6).

The beliefs of the Wahhābīs, who adhere to the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*, are taken from Ibn Taymiyyah. All the innovations that you see today, such as mercilessness, rigidity, illogicality, and so on, are taken from Ibn Taymiyyah's book.

You cannot debate with a Wahhābī, because he does not allow it! As soon as anyone utters anything, he is called an unbeliever or wrongly accused of polytheism! They say: "You are not even Muslims! First become Muslims, and then we will debate with you!" This is how they close the minds of the masses, silence them, and say: "The only Islam is Wahhābism. Be Wahhābīs, and then we will debate with you." Look and see how they impound the truth and consider circular reasoning, which is impossible, to be possible, i.e. that logic, debate, and discussion are all wrong and that there is nothing but the whip! Fie on you!

They ask: "Why do you prostrate on clay? Why do you include a *qunūt* in your prayer? Why do you say: 'Hasten to the best deed' in your call to prayer?!" In return, we ask them: "Why do you not prostrate on clay? Why do you not include a *qunūt* in your prayer? Why do you not say: 'Hasten to the best deed' in your call to prayer?!"

These are jurisprudential matters, and everyone follows the universals and fundamentals of his own *madhhab*, so why do you dispute with us over these matters? There has always been difference of opinion in jurisprudential matters between jurists. There is also much difference of opinion between the four Sunni *madhhabs*. Everyone just follows a jurist who is a specialist in his own *madhhab*. Of course it is appropriate for a person to follow his own path in accordance with the established principles of that particular *madhhab*.

Our objection to you pertains to fundamentals, particularly the fundamental of leadership and to the three "Caliphs'" having usurped the right to succession from the legitimate ruler, disobeyed

the Qur'an's clear instructions, hurt God's Messenger, and denied the truth after knowing it.

The Shi'a say:

We cannot overlook the Qur'an's clear instructions or widely narrated authentic hadiths, cited by the Sunnis themselves in their books. This Qur'an and this tradition of the noblest Messenger command us to disavow Abū Bakr, Omar, and Othman. The Qur'an has cursed them and says that they will be punished humiliatingly, so how can we disobey the Qur'an?!

The Shi'a say:

Your great scholars, like Bukhārī, Muslim, and others related that when God's Messenger passed away, Fāṭimah sent [a note] to Abū Bakr demanding the inheritance left to her by her father: Fadak and the double-tithe (*khums*) left over from Khaybar. Abū Bakr refused to give her anything:

فوجدت فاطمة على ابي بكر وجدا شديدا وهجرته ولم تكلمه حتى ماتت وهي واجدة عليه[156]

so Fāṭimah became severely angry with him, shunned him, and did not speak to him until she died, still angry with him!

On the other hand, your hadith imams and indeed the most senior ones, such as Ḥamīdī, the author of *al-Jamᶜ Bayn al-Saḥīḥayn*, relate that God's Messenger stated

فاطمة بضعة مني يؤذيني من آذاها.

"Fāṭimah is part of me. Whoever annoys her annoys me!"

The Shi'a take these two hadiths and make them the major and minor premise of a Type I syllogism and say:

Minor premise: Abū Bakr annoyed (*ādhā*) Fāṭimah.
Major premise: Whoever annoys (*ādhā*) Fāṭimah, annoys (*ādhā*) God's Messenger.
Conclusion: Abū Bakr annoyed God's Messenger.

As the Glorious Qur'an says:

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يُؤْذُونَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ لَعَنَهُمُ اللَّهُ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ وَأَعَدَّ لَهُمْ عَذَابًا مُهِينًا.

Lo! Those who annoy (yuʾdhūn) *God and His Messenger—God has cursed them in this world and the hereafter and has prepared a humiliating punishment for them* (33:57). Thus the meaning of the Qurʾanic verse is the major premise of another syllogism. Using the conclusion of the previous syllogism as the minor premise:

> Minor premise: Abū Bakr annoyed God's Messenger.
> Major premise: God curses in this world and the Hereafter, and has prepared a humiliating punishment for, whoever annoys God's Messenger.
> Conclusion: Abū Bakr is cast out of God's mercy, i.e. God's curse applies to him according to the explicit wording of the Qurʾan.

How can the Sunnis respond to this rational demonstration?! It is rational demonstration, not rhetoric, poetry, sophistry or even debate. Its premises are indubitable. They are givens.

Can they say: "We do not believe in the Qurʾan," which provides the major premise, or: "We do not accept the minor premise," which is in books acceptable to the majority of them, such as their two authentic [hadith collections]?! They just say the Qurʾan is a confirmed given, and these hadiths are also authentic but do not formulate the minor premise or the major premise or the conclusion. This syllogism and logic is of no use to you. The early Muslims (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*) were just, and to protect Islam, we must not find fault with them! This is the logic of stubborn opponents! This is the logic of Ibn Taymiyyah, because he and his ilk say: "We should tread on understanding, blot out reason, and blindly follow tyrannical rulers!"

Fine! We also say: We have nothing to do with their deeds, no matter whether they were good or bad. They are their own business. They have come and gone. Every one of them has his own record of deeds, and it is up to God to reckon them. It has nothing to do with us, so why waste our time and energy on discussing and revealing the secrets of men who lived and passed away fourteen centuries ago! But the point is that if hypothetically we did follow them, their sermons, laws, and instructions, it could also be asked what need there is to research and investigate. Is spying not just a waste of our lifetime? Otherwise we would not only have to spend our whole lifetime, but rather several lifetimes to unveil a single slip, let alone all their slips, errors, betrayals, and crimes and candidly declare that those so-called pious ones did not deserve the Imamate or Caliphate. Their deeds, ethics, and beliefs were not an appropriate example for people to follow.

Ibn Taymiyyah saw that there was no doubt in these many hadiths to be found in reliable Sunni books such as *Tafsīr al-Thaʿlabī*, *Tafsīr Abī al-Saʿūd*, and so on, narrated on the authority of those respected companions like Ḥudhayfah Ibn al-Yamān and Sufyān Ibn ʿUyaynah, whose preeminence in hadith, exegesis, and reliability are indisputable to Sunnis. They came along and said what they did about the background to the revelation of the verse *A petitioner prayed*, and if the reason for its revelation is admitted, then the basis of Abū Bakr's and Omar's Caliphate collapses, because these narrations say that the petitioner who denied [Imam Ali's appointment as Master] argued with the Prophet, saying: "Has it not sufficed you that you have ordered us [to perform] all these obligations, ultimately lifting up your cousin's upper arms and appointing him as our Master! Now, is this from you or from God?!"

These narrations clearly prove that the meaning of the word *Mawlā* in the hadith "Whoever's *Mawlā* I am, so too is Ali his *Mawlā*" is Master, Imam, successor, and regulator of public affairs. However, the Sunnis do not interpret it this way, so to find a way to escape the Ghadīr Hadith and avoid its real meaning, they say: "Omar and Abū Bakr also heard the narration and congratulated Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, saying 'Bravo! Bravo! (*Bakhin! Bakhin!*)' If *walāyah* really did mean Imamate, they would never have disobeyed, so *Mawlā* cannot mean Imam. It must mean helper, cousin, devotee (*muḥibb*), or something similar." However, Ḥārith Ibn Nuʿmān Fahrī's objection to God's Messenger as per *A petitioner prayed* was based on his understanding it to mean Imamate and Caliphate; he understood "Whoever's *Mawlā* I am..." to refer to the Imamate, so we find that the fanatic Ibn Taymiyyah has to try to refute it by any means. Otherwise the very foundations of his *madhhab* will collapse. **Praise be to God, it has already collapsed, and through discussions by great scholars—defenders of Shiʿism—his and his cohorts' school of thought has been left with no respect or credibility!**

Ibn Taymiyyah raises a number of objections to this hadith.

The first objection: The basis of this attribution is a lie, and the claim of a consensus by scholars that the verse was revealed about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib is an even bigger lie because no scholar who knows what he is talking about has ever related it!

Response: Attributing falsehood to this narration is pure falsehood, and saying that no scholar who knows what he is talking about has ever related it is an even bigger lie!

Are almost thirty of the greatest Sunni scholars such as Abū ʿUbaydah Herawī, Thaʿlabī, Abū Bakr Naqqāsh, Sufyān Ibn

ʿUyaynah, Qazvīnī, Qurṭubī, Ḥākim Ḥāskānī, Samhūdī, and Ibn Ṣabbāgh Mālikī, who relate this narration in their exegeses, hadith, and history books, so stupid that they did not understand what they were saying?! Does their narration of this hadith in their books fall under the heading of delirium and garrulousness or under the heading of telling tales and myths!

Because Ibn Taymiyyah himself acknowledges that those luminaries had knowledge and hadith, attributing ignorance and lack of understanding to them only shows his own ignorance and is an acknowledgement of his own envy, spite, and rancor!

The second objection: Narrations say that when this hadith was publicized and spread to the horizons, Ḥarth Ibn Nuʿmān mounted his she-camel and went to Abṭaḥ, while God's Messenger was in Abṭaḥ. He dismounted, went up to him, and said what he said. Note that Abṭaḥ is in Mecca, not Medina. Both Shiʿa and Sunnis agree that from the time of the incident at the Ghadīr, which was on the eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, and his death, after the months of Muḥarram and Ṣafar, the Prophet did not return to Mecca.

Response: This wretched man was either ignorant or pretending not to know that *abṭaḥ* here is not a proper noun referring to the place in Mecca, because both *abṭaḥ* and *baṭḥāʾ* are generic nouns referring to any wide-open space to which a flood or the wind has carried fine pebbles. Such land cannot be cultivated because it has no soil. There is land like this in Mecca, Medina, Iraq, and many other places where sand or pebbles have been carried by the wind, or where they were left after water that had once submerged the entire valley goes down, and it becomes sandy land, and very loose sand at that.

Tāj al-ʿArūs says that *baṭiḥ* means the sand in a *baṭḥāʾ*. Jawharī and others say that *baṭīḥah*, *baṭḥāʾ*, and *abṭaḥ* all mean a wide channel in which there are fine pebbles. One *abṭaḥ* is Abṭaḥ in Mecca. A hadith says that God's Messenger prayed in Abṭaḥ, i.e. Abṭaḥ in Mecca, namely the course of its valley. It is related from Abū Ḥanīfah that nothing grows in Abṭaḥ because it is the bottom of the flood-channel, and from Naḍr that a *baṭḥāʾ* is the bottom of a water-course or valley or the soft earth carried there by torrents. One says: "We reached the valley's *abṭaḥ* or the valley's *baṭḥāʾ* and slept on it," meaning on its level, soft pebbles or sand...Mecca's Baṭḥāʾ or Abṭaḥ is known for its flatness. Minā is part of Abṭaḥ. Quraysh al-Biṭāḥ are those [of Quraysh] who live in the Abṭaḥ and Baṭḥāʾ of Mecca. Quraysh al-Ẓawāhir are those [of Quraysh] who live in the outskirts of Mecca.

Tahdhīb al-Lughah[157] says on the authority of Ibn al-ʿArābī that Quraysh al-Biṭāḥ are those who live in the canyon between Mecca's

two rugged mountains (*akhshabā Makkah*), whereas Quraysh of the outskirts (Quraysh al-Ẓawāhir) are those who live outside the canyon. The noblest of them are Quraysh al-Biṭāḥ. The two rugged mountains of Mecca are its two mountains, Abū Qubays and the one opposite it.

Genealogists say: "Quraysh al-Abāṭiḥ and Quraysh al-Biṭāḥ are the majority and core of Quraysh who constructed Mecca's *baṭḥā'* and settled there. The opposite to them is Quraysh of the outskirts for whom there was no room in the *abāṭiḥ*, so they were forced to settle outside them."[158]

Lisān al-ᶜArab says: "A *baṭḥā'* is a watercourse containing fine pebbles." Ibn Sayyidah says: "The *baṭḥā'* of a valley is soft earth carried there by a flood. The plural is *baṭḥawāt* or *biṭāḥ*. One can say: *biṭāḥ* or *buṭṭaḥ*, like *aᶜwām* or *ᶜuwwam*, and if it is vast or wide, it is an *abṭaḥ*, the plural of which is *abāṭiḥ*."

A hadith by Omar says that he was the first to strew pebbles in the mosque (*baṭṭaḥ al-masjid*) [to make it level]. The blessed valley (*al-wādī al-mubārak*) means Wādī al-ᶜAtīq land, where God's Messenger slept.

Ibn Shumayyil says: "A valley's *baṭḥā'* or *abṭaḥ* is its even, soft pebbles at the bottom of the water-course.

After citing many of the same quotes as we did from *Tāj al-ᶜArūs*, he says: "Baṭīḥah is what lies between Wāsiṭ and Basra; it is a marsh, the edges of which cannot be seen because it is so big. It is a wooded swamp made up of water from the Euphrates and Tigris. The same applies to the marshes between Basra and Ahwāz. Ṭaff is the edge of the *baṭiḥah*, and altogether they are called *baṭā'iḥ*."

Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Munīr says: "Any open area is called a *baṭiḥah* or *abṭaḥ*. The *abṭaḥ* in Mecca is al-Muḥaṣṣab."[159]

Ṣiḥāḥ al-Lughah says: "*Baṭṭaḥahu* means he threw him on his face so he was thrown on his face (*fa* [*i*]*nbaṭaḥ*). An *abṭaḥ* is a wide watercourse containing fine sand and pebbles. The plural is *abāṭiḥ* or *biṭāḥ*."[160]

Al-Nihāyah says: "Omar's hadith says that he was the first to strew pebbles (*baṭṭaḥ*) in the mosque. A hadith on dowries says: 'If you were scooping from Baṭḥān you would not be giving more.' Baṭḥān is the name of a valley in Medina. Its residents are called Buṭḥāniyyūn. Most pronounce it with a *ḍammah* above the *bā'*, and perhaps it is more correct."[161]

Aqrab al-Mawārid says:

Baṭṭaḥ al-masjid means "He strewed and spread pebbles in the mosque."

A hadith says: "He appealed to the people to level it (*baṭḥihi*)." *Tabaṭṭaḥ*

al-sayl means "The torrent spread widely in the channel, and flowed widely." A wide water channel containing fine pebbles is called a *baṭīḥah*. The plural is *baṭā'iḥ*. The marshland of the Tigris and Euphrates is called Baṭīḥah or Baṭā'iḥ. *Baṭḥā'* means the same as *baṭīḥah*. The plural is *biṭāḥ* or *baṭḥawāt*. *Abṭaḥ* is similar to *baṭīḥah* and *baṭḥā'* and its plural is *abāṭiḥ*.[162]

Mu'jam al-Buldān says:

Lexically, a *baṭḥā'* means a wide water-course containing fine pebbles. The plural is *abāṭiḥ* ...Abū al-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Naṣr al-Kātib (the Scribe) said:

> I heard a female lute player sing couplets by Ṭarīḥ Ibn Ismā'īl Thaqafī about Walīd Ibn Yazīd Ibn 'Abd al-Mālik, one of his maternal uncles:
>
> أَنْتَ ابْنُ مُسْتَنْطِعِ الْبِطَاحِ وَلَمْ تَطْرُقْ عَلَيْكَ الْحُنِيُّ وَالْوُبُحُ.[163]
>
> You are the son of the vast river basin!
> And no low lands or wide valleys have reached you!
>
> That is, you are from the well-known, renowned *baṭḥā'*, not from the lowland or other regions that would hide your ancestry and conceal your roots and origin!

One of those present said: "The *biṭāḥ* in this couplet can only mean Baṭḥā' in Mecca, so what does the plural mean?" An 'Alawī Baṭḥāwī who was present went wild and said: "The other Baṭḥā' means the Baṭḥā' in Medina, which is superior to the Baṭḥā' in Mecca. My grandfather comes from there." He recited to her:

وَبَطْحَاءُ الْمَدِينَةِ لِي مَنْزِلٌ فَيَا حَبَّذَا ذَاكَ مِنْ مَنْزِلِ

"Medina's Baṭḥā' is my home, and what a beloved home it is!"

One of those present then said: "Now these are two Baṭḥā's, but what does the plural mean?"

We replied: "The Arabs exaggerate in their poetry, turning duals into plural." One person had said: "A minimum plural is two, not three.'"

...This is all a digression, because if the consensus of grammarians is that *baṭḥā'* means pebbly land, any such land can be called *baṭḥā'*. Even in the time of ignorance, Quraysh were divided into the Quraysh al-Baṭḥā' (Quraysh of the river valley) and Quraysh al-Ẓawāhir (Quraysh of the outskirts), and none of them were in Medina.[164]

Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāᶜ says the root meaning of *baṭḥāʾ* is a wide watercourse covered with fine pebbles. Omar said: "Level the mosque's floor with pebbles (*ibṭaḥū al-masjid*)!" It is also the name of a place near Dhī Qār, the vast Baṭḥāʾ of Mecca, Baṭḥāʾ Dhī al-Ḥulayfah, and Baṭḥāʾ Ibn Azhar close to Medina, where there is a mosque named after God's Messenger.

Baṭḥāʾ is a town in north Africa (al-Maghrib) close to Tlemcen, three or four days' [journey] between the two.[165]

Al-Buldān says: "From Wāsiṭ to Basra is in Baṭāʾiḥ because several bodies of water converge there, then flow from Baṭāʾiḥ into the Tigris water through fields where nothing grows; it then flows towards Basra, emptying into Shaṭṭ Nahr Ibn Omar."[166]

Apart from the consensus of lexicographers that Abṭaḥ is not a proper noun exclusively used for a place in Mecca, but is rather a generic term, used also for the Abṭaḥ in Medina, i.e. Dhū al-Ḥulayfah, in the same way, there are also many proofs in poetry by Arab orators and eloquent speakers and hadiths to prove it. One of them is two couplets attributed to the Master of the Faithful about Walīd Ibn Mughīrah:

يُهَدِّدُنِي بِالْعَظِيمِ الْوَلِيدُ فَقُلْتُ: أَنَا ابْنُ أَبِي طَالِبِ 1
أَنَا ابْنُ الْمُحَلِّ بِالْأَبْطَحَيْنِ وَبِالْبَيْتِ مِنْ سَلَفِي غَالِبِ 2

Walīd threatens me with dire [consequences],
So, I replied: "I am the son of Abū Ṭālib
I am the son of one respected in both *abṭaḥs*
And in the House; Ghālib is one of my ancestors."

By way of explanation of these two couplets, Maybudī says: "The Imam means by the two *abṭaḥs* the *abṭaḥ* in Mecca and the *abṭaḥ* in Medina."[167]

Bukhārī and Muslim relate from ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Omar:

إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ أَنَاخَ بِالْبَطْحَاءِ بِذِي الْحُلَيْفَةِ فَصَلَّى بِهَا.[168]

"God's Messenger made his camel kneel down in the *baṭḥāʾ* at Dhū Ḥulayfah and prayed there."

Dhū Ḥulayfah is close to Medina.

The Ghadīr Hadith as related by Ḥudhayfah Ibn Usayd and ᶜĀmir Ibn Laylā says: "When God's Messenger was returning from the Farewell Pilgrimage (and he performed no other pilgrimage from

Medina), he came and reached Juḥfah, and in the basin (*baṭḥā'*), he gave the order for the tents not to be pitched under those trees. He then delivered a sermon there.[169]

Sayyid Ḥimyarī says in his *ʿAyniyyah* ode, in which he describes the Master of the Faithful's Kawthar [river in Heaven] on the Day of Resurrection:

بَطْحَاءُهُ مِسْكٌ وَحَافَاتُهُ يَهْتَزُّ مِنْهَا مُونِقٌ مُونِعُ

"Its basin is musk, and there are about it attractive trees, beautiful, yielding ripe fruits!"[170]

Ibn Ṣayfī Shihāb al-Dīn, a poet known as Ḥayṣ wa Bayṣ, says in his lament in which he imagines what the Household would say about their enemies and killers:

1 مَلَكْنَا فَكَانَ الْعَفْوُ مِنَّا سَجِيَّةً فَلَمَّا مَلَكْتُمْ سَالَ بِالدَّمِ أَبْطَحُ

2 وَحَلَّلْتُمْ قَتْلَ الْأَسَارَى وَطَالَمَا عَدَوْنَا عَلَى الْأَسْرَى فَنَعْفُو وَنَصْفَحُ

3 فَحَسْبُكُمْ هَذَا التَّفَاوُتُ بَيْنَنَا وَكُلُّ إِنَاءٍ بِالَّذِي فِيهِ يَرْشَحُ.[171]

1. We ruled and forgiveness was second nature to us, but when you ruled, Abṭaḥ flowed with blood!
2. You considered killing prisoners to be lawful, but we frequently forgave and pardoned prisoners!
3. This massive difference between us suffices you. Every vessel leaks out what is inside it!

Note that the Master of the Martyrs was killed in Karbala, so Abṭaḥ here has to mean Abṭaḥ in Iraq—the sandy lands stretching from Kufa to Basra.

And if anyone says that Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib was killed in Mecca, our response is that he was not killed in Mecca's Abṭaḥ, because its Abṭaḥ is in the east, and is known as Wādī al-Muḥaṣṣab, which is near Minā. Hādī ʿAbbāsī (the grandson of Manṣūr Dawānīqī) killed him, his entire family, and his companions in Wādī Fakhkh. Hence, he is known as the Martyr of Fakhkh.

Wādī Fakhkh is a *farsakh* north of Mecca.

Similarly the Master of the Martyrs, Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, is known as the Martyr of Ṭaff.

Even if we ignore all this, the word *abṭaḥ* does not appear in Ḥalabī's *Sīrah*, Shaykh Muhammad Ṣadr al-ʿĀlam's *Maʿārij al-ʿUlā*, or Sibṭ Ibn Jawzī's *Tadhkirah*. Instead, they all say: "A man with a

question came to God's Messenger in the mosque." "The mosque" means the Mosque in Medina. Ḥalabī explicitly states that it happened in Medina so the problem disappears completely.

The third objection: *Sūrat al-Maᶜārij*

سأل سائل بعذاب واقع

A petitioner prayed for inevitable punishment is a Meccan chapter. It is the consensus of all scholars that it was revealed in Mecca before the migration. Hence, it was revealed ten or more years before the incident at Ghadīr Khumm, so how can it have been revealed after the incident?!

There are several responses to this objection. First of all, if every verse in this chapter, by the scholars' consensus, was revealed in Mecca, it must be assumed that the chapter was revealed again, or Gabriel or the Prophet himself repeated it as appropriate to the situation.

There are many verses that were revealed twice to the Prophet, with good reason, such as a reminder and advice, the importance of the verse's meaning or position, or that the situation required that it be revealed twice.

It is unanimously agreed by Shiᶜa and Sunni scholars that *Fātihat al-Kitāb* (Chapter 1: "The Opening") was revealed twice, once in Mecca, when prayer was made compulsory, and again in Medina, when the *qiblah* (the direction faced when praying) was changed from towards Jerusalem to towards Mecca. This is why it is called *Sūrat al-Mathānī* ("The Chapter of Twice-Revealed Verses").[172] It is similar to the *basmalah* ("In the Name of God, the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful"), which appears at the beginning of every chapter [except Chapter 9]. It is accepted by the whole nation that it is part of every chapter [except Chapter 9]. The same applies to other verses, such as the beginning of *Sūrat al-Rūm* (Chapter 30: "The Byzantines")[173], and the verse of asking forgiveness:

مَا كَانَ لِلنَّبِيِّ وَالَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا أَن يَسْتَغْفِرُوا لِلْمُشْرِكِينَ[174]

It is not (fit) for the Prophet and those who believe that they should ask forgiveness for the polytheists (9:113); the verse

أَقِمِ الصَّلَوٰةَ طَرَفَيِ النَّهَارِ وَزُلَفًا مِّنَ اللَّيْلِ إِنَّ الْحَسَنَاتِ يُذْهِبْنَ السَّيِّئَاتِ[175]

And keep up prayer in the two parts of the day and in the first hours of the night; surely good deeds take away evil deeds (11:114); the verse

أَلَيْسَ اللَّهُ بِكَافٍ عَبْدَهُ

Is God not sufficient for His servant? (39:36), and many other verses that were revealed more than once as explicitly stated by both Sunni and Shi'a scholars in their exegeses. Suyūṭī dedicates the whole of chapter 11 of *al-Itqān* to verses revealed more than once.

Second: The scholars' consensus that *Sūrat al-Ma'ārij* is Meccan is based on an isolated hadith (*khabar wāḥid*) narrated by Ibn 'Abbās and 'Abdullāh Ibn Zubayr. The same rule that applies to isolated hadiths applies to a consensus based on an isolated hadith. The hadith narrated by Tha'labī from Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah that says that the incident at the Ghadīr was the background to the revelation of *A petitioner prayed...* and others related by people other than Tha'labī and Sufyān are also isolated hadiths, so what reason is there for giving preponderance to those hadiths over these ones?

Third: Even if we do concede that *Sūrat al-Ma'ārij* is Meccan, what proof is that that its opening verses are Meccan? After all, God's Messenger gave the order for so many verses revealed in Medina to be inserted in Meccan chapters, and so many verses revealed in Mecca to be inserted in Medinan chapters.

All this was as specified by God's Messenger, as was the position of those other verses, for example, between verses x and y.

Suyūṭī says in Section 1 of *al-Itqān*:

> Bayhaqī says in *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah*: "There are some verses that were revealed in Medina in chapters that were revealed in Mecca, and made part of them." Ibn al-Haṣṣār says: "In both categories of chapter, Meccan and Medinan, there are some verses that are exceptions, revealed elsewhere, i.e. Meccan verses in Medinan chapters and Medinan verses in Meccan chapters."

He then says:

> However, some people rely on their own personal judgment instead of hadith evidence to prove exceptions. Ibn Ḥajar 'Asqalānī says in *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*: "Some leading experts in this field do give weight to claims that there are Medinan verses in Meccan chapters, but I have only rarely seen the opposite of that, i.e. the revelation of some of a chapter in Mecca, and the remainder of it later on in Medina."

Suyūṭī says after this quote: "I shall now cite examples of both categories of exceptions that I have come across, i.e. set out which Medinan verses are in Meccan chapters and which Meccan verses are in Medinan chapters, covering fully what I have seen."[176]

Therefore, we say that even if *Sūrat al-Maʿārij* is Meccan, the first verses of it are Medinan.

If anyone says: That much that is known for certain is that whether a chapter is Meccan or Medinan depends on whether the beginning of it was revealed in Mecca or Medina respectively, or on whether the verse after which the chapter is named is Meccan or Medinan; the response is that the order in which the Qurʾan is actually arranged is prescriptive and is not based on the order in which verses were revealed. It would not be surprising for some verses to be revealed later on and prescriptively attached to previously revealed verses, and even for the chapters to be named after the verses [revealed later on] even though we do not know the benefit or wisdom of this prescriptive order, just as with the prescriptive order of most of the Qurʾan.

The fourth objection: All exegetes agree that the noble verse

وَإِذْ قَالُوا اللَّهُمَّ إِنْ كَانَ هَذَا هُوَ الْحَقَّ مِنْ عِنْدِكَ فَأَمْطِرْ عَلَيْنَا حِجَارَةً مِنَ السَّمَاءِ

And when they said: O God, if this is the truth from Thee, then rain upon us stones from heaven or inflict on us a painful punishment (8:32) in *Sūrat al-Anfāl* was revealed after the Battle of Badr, which was years before the incident at the Ghadīr. It is also the consensus of exegetes that it was revealed because of what polytheists, such as Abū Jahl and his ilk, said to the Prophet before the migration. God wanted to remind His Messenger what they had said, i.e. remember when they said such-and-such. It is similar to

وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلَائِكَةِ

And when your Lord said to the angels (2: 30)

وَإِذْ غَدَوْتَ مِنْ أَهْلِكَ

And when you set off early in the morning from your family (3:121), and so on. Because these are reminders, the time when the polytheists said this has to have been before this verse *And when they said: O God...* was revealed.

Poor Ibn Taymiyyah[177] thinks, or is pretending to think, that these hadiths mean that Ḥārith Ibn Nuʿmān or Jābir Ibn Naḍr Ibn Ḥārith said this prayer asking for stones to be rained from Heaven or a painful punishment, and that the verse *And when they said: O God...* was revealed after that. However, we see nothing of the sort in these hadiths!

Let us suppose that these verses were revealed after the Battle of Badr, and that they were about the pagans before the migration. Why

then could it not be the case that this man who denied [Ali's appointment as] leader and came to God's Messenger that day turned the verse into a prayer, wanting the same as per those words in that previously revealed verse?!

What! Was there any physical impediment to praying in the words of the verse, or in the words of a prayer that appears in the Glorious Qur'an? That man who denied Ali's appointment as leader just manifested his disbelief by saying these words just as those pagans in Mecca, before the Prophet's migration, showed their disbelief by uttering these words of atheism and disbelief!

Apart from all this, what is wrong with this verse from *Sūrat al-Anfāl*, [a verse] revealed towards the end of the Prophet's life, being one of many verses inserted, during the compilation of the Qur'an, among verses revealed much earlier, just like *Sūrat al-Mā'idah*,[178] [a chapter] revealed at the end of the Prophet's life, but which contains verses on usury that were revealed much earlier and

وَاتَّقُوا يَوْمًا تُرْجَعُونَ فِيهِ إِلَى اللَّهِ

And fear a day in which you will be returned to God (2:181), which is one of the last verses to be revealed to the Prophet? It was put in chapter 2, and chapter 2 was revealed shortly after the migration, several years before the end of the Prophet's life.

Even if we also ignore all this, a claim that

وَإِذْ قَالُوا اللَّهُمَّ إِنْ كَانَ هَذَا هُوَ الْحَقَّ مِنْ عِنْدِكَ

was uttered by the pagans before the migration is an unprovable claim, or even a claim against the weight of the evidence, because no one with any familiarity with language will have any doubt that

اللَّهُمَّ إِنْ كَانَ هَذَا هُوَ الْحَقَّ مِنْ عِنْدِكَ فَأَمْطِرْ عَلَيْنَا حِجَارَةً مِنَ السَّمَاءِ أَوِ ائْتِنَا بِعَذَابٍ أَلِيمٍ

is not what an idolatrous polytheist who laughs at and mocks God would say, because he uses the demonstrative pronoun "this" (*hādhā*) emphasized by a detached pronoun, the word "truth" preceded by the definite article (*al-ḥaqq*), and then uses the second-person pronoun (from *You*, *min indik*). These could never be the words of a polytheist. On the contrary, they are the words of someone who acknowledges God's status as Lord; however, he had doubt in a particular statement that had a particular meaning, that it was pure truth, and from God alone, could not bear it, and cursed himself to death and ruin, weary of life and fleeing from it.

The fifth objection: God tells us how the unbelievers from Quraysh asked Him to punish them:

وَإِذْ قَالُوا اللَّهُمَّ إِنْ كَانَ هَٰذَا هُوَ الْحَقَّ مِنْ عِنْدِكَ فَأَمْطِرْ عَلَيْنَا حِجَارَةً مِنَ السَّمَاءِ أَوِ ائْتِنَا بِعَذَابٍ أَلِيمٍ.

And when they said: O God, if this is the truth from Thee, then rain upon us stones from heaven or inflict on us a painful punishment (8:32), and says in the verse immediately after that:

وَمَا كَانَ اللَّهُ لِيُعَذِّبَهُمْ وَأَنْتَ فِيهِمْ وَمَا كَانَ اللَّهُ مُعَذِّبَهُمْ وَهُمْ يَسْتَغْفِرُونَ.

But God would not punish them while you were among them, nor will He punish them while they seek forgiveness (8:33). Everyone agrees that when the Meccans asked for punishment, it was not visited upon them, and stones from Heaven were not rained upon them. If there had been a miraculous punishment visited upon Ḥarth Ibn Nuʿmān Fahrī, it would have been like the miraculous punishment visited upon the elephant-riders along with all the same incentive to tell the tale. So why is it not mentioned in all biographies of the Prophet, exegeses, and chronicles? Why is it not as well known as the miraculous punishment of the elephant-riders?!

Response: He should have read the next verse after the other one. The answer would have been clear:

وَمَا لَهُمْ أَلَّا يُعَذِّبَهُمُ اللَّهُ وَهُمْ يَصُدُّونَ عَنِ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ وَمَا كَانُوا أَوْلِيَاءَهُ إِنْ أَوْلِيَاؤُهُ إِلَّا الْمُتَّقُونَ وَلَٰكِنَّ أَكْثَرَهُمْ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ.

And why should God not punish them when they block off the Sacred Mosque, though they are its custodians? Its custodians are only the righteous, but most of them do not know (8:34).

To explain, what we said does not mean that God always commutes the Meccans' punishment, so long as the Prophet is among them. It just means that He stays punishment of the entire community so long as the Prophet is still among them, and has not yet left them, and they have not forced him out. Then, by the grace of the Prophet's precious soul being among them, God stays their punishment. Alternatively, God stays their punishment thanks to the devotion of and forgiveness sought by a band of believers who live among them.

However, when they forced the Prophet out of Mecca, it took several years for the remaining believers to gradually leave Mecca for Medina, leaving someone in Mecca to seek forgiveness for its inhabitants. God then allowed His Prophet to conquer Mecca militarily. What were God's Messenger's raids and battles if not punishment, retribution, disaster, and humiliation visited upon the polytheists? Moreover, due to their persistent folly, aversion to God's verses, and

refusal to accept His Prophet, they were threatened with lightning like that which struck the people of ᶜĀd who rejected their Prophet, Hūd, and like the people of Thamūd who rejected their Prophet, Ṣāliḥ. The lightning and icy gale will turn them into fodder for blazing hell and doom!

فَإِنْ أَعْرَضُوا فَقُلْ أَنذَرْتُكُمْ صَاعِقَةً مِّثْلَ صَاعِقَةِ عَادٍ وَثَمُودَ (13)
إِذْ جَاءَتْهُمُ الرُّسُلُ مِن بَيْنِ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَمِنْ خَلْفِهِمْ أَلَّا تَعْبُدُوا إِلَّا اللَّهَ قَالُوا لَوْ شَاءَ رَبُّنَا لَأَنزَلَ مَلَائِكَةً
فَإِنَّا بِمَا أُرْسِلْتُم بِهِ كَافِرُونَ (14)
فَأَمَّا عَادٌ فَاسْتَكْبَرُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ بِغَيْرِ الْحَقِّ وَقَالُوا مَنْ أَشَدُّ مِنَّا قُوَّةً أَوَلَمْ يَرَوْا أَنَّ اللَّهَ الَّذِي خَلَقَهُمْ هُوَ
أَشَدُّ مِنْهُمْ قُوَّةً وَكَانُوا بِآيَاتِنَا يَجْحَدُونَ (15)
فَأَرْسَلْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ رِيحًا صَرْصَرًا فِي أَيَّامٍ نَّحِسَاتٍ لِّنُذِيقَهُمْ عَذَابَ الْخِزْيِ فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَلَعَذَابُ الْآخِرَةِ
أَخْزَى وَهُمْ لَا يُنصَرُونَ (16)
وَأَمَّا ثَمُودُ فَهَدَيْنَاهُمْ فَاسْتَحَبُّوا الْعَمَى عَلَى الْهُدَى فَأَخَذَتْهُمْ صَاعِقَةُ الْعَذَابِ الْهُونِ بِمَا كَانُوا يَكْسِبُونَ
(17) وَنَجَّيْنَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَكَانُوا يَتَّقُونَ. (18)

But if they turn away, then say, "I have warned you of lightning like the lightning [which struck] ᶜĀd and Thamūd." When their Messengers came to them from before them and behind them, [and said]: "Worship none but God," they said, "If our Lord had willed, He surely would have sent down angels, so we are surely disbelievers in that with which you are sent." As for ᶜĀd: they were unjustly proud in the land, and said, "Who is mightier in strength than we?" Did they not see that God Who created them, is mightier in strength than they were? And they denied Our Signs. Then We sent an icy gale upon them on ill-omened days, so that We might let them taste the punishment of humiliation in this world's life. And verily the doom of the Hereafter will be more humiliating, and they will not be helped. And as for Thamūd, We guided them, but they preferred blindness to guidance. So, the lightning of the punishment of humiliation seized them for what they had earned. And We saved those who believed and were heedful. (41:13–18).

In these verses, we notice that God warned the Seal of the Prophets' nation that He would punish them as He had punished the previous prophets' nations so as to take His Prophet out of the Mother of all Townships [Mecca], and leave its inhabitants as lightning fodder or to be torn to pieces by swords and spears after the Prophet and his companions migrated to Medina! This warning followed by punishment applies to everybody with regard to collective punishment!

However, with regard to individual punishment, such as blindness, paralysis, trembling, becoming prey for wild animals, being killed after imprisonment (*qatl ṣabran*),[179] and so on, they are as per the examples recorded in relation to God's Messenger in chronicles and biographies.

At the Battle of Badr when the pagans were captured by the Muslims,[180] they were all ransomed and freed, except for three men: Naḍr Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Kaldah, ʿUqbah Ibn Abī Muʿayṭ, and Muṭʿim Ibn ʿAdī.

Naḍr Ibn al-Ḥārith was the same man who used to say: *this is nothing but the tales of the ancients* (8:31) referring to the stories told in the Qurʾan that the Prophet would recite to them.

God's Messenger said: "O Ali! Bring Naḍr to me." The Master of the Faithful pulled him by his hair and took him to the Prophet—Naḍr was a handsome man with long hair.

Naḍr said: "O Muhammad! I beg you by the blood relationship between you and me, to treat me like a man from the Quraysh! If you kill them, kill me, and if you ransom them, ransom me."

God's Messenger said:

لَا رَحِمَ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَكَ قَطَعَ اللهُ الرَّحِمَ بِالْإِسْلَامِ.

"There is no blood relationship between you and me! God severs blood relationships through Islam. O Ali, bring him forward and behead him!" So, he beheaded him.

He then said: "O Ali! Bring ʿUqbah to me," so he brought him and he asked:

يَا مُحَمَّدُ أَلَمْ تَقُلْ لَا تُصْبَرُ قُرَيْشٌ؟

"O Muhammad, didn't you say Quraysh should not be taken prisoner and executed?" The Prophet replied:

وَأَنْتَ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ؟ إِنَّمَا أَنْتَ عِلْجٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ صَفُورِيَّةَ، وَاللهِ لَأَنْتَ فِي الْبِلَادِ أَكْبَرُ مِنْ أَبِيكَ الَّذِي تَدَّعِي لَهُ!

"Are you from Quraysh? You are just an unbeliever, of the nation of Ṣafūriyyah! By God, you are higher born than your father to whom you attribute yourself!"

ʿUqbah asked: "Who is going to look after my daughter?"

God's Messenger replied: "Hell!" He then added: "When a divining arrow produces a sound, it is not one of them!"[181]

The one who had said:

اللَّهُمَّ إِنْ كَانَ هَذَا هُوَ الْحَقَّ مِنْ عِنْدِكَ فَأَمْطِرْ عَلَيْنَا حِجَارَةً مِنَ السَّمَاءِ أَوِ ائْتِنَا بِعَذَابٍ أَلِيمٍ

was Naḍr Ibn al-Ḥārith, who in answer to his prayer was executed as a prisoner at the Battle of Badr.[182]

And concerning the uncle of the Prophet, Abū Lahab, and his wife, Umm Jamīl, the daughter of Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr Ibn Ḥarb, who did not miss a single way to hurt the Prophet, the chapter of

تبت يدا ابي لهب وتب... وامرأته حالة الحطب

was revealed. *Perish the hands of Abū Lahab! Perish he!... And his wife, the firewood carrier...* (111:1–5).

Ṭāriq Muḥāribī says:

> When I was passing through the Dhī Majāz Market, I saw a youth say:
>
> قُولُوا: لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ تُفْلِحُوا
>
> "Say: 'There is no god except God.' You will succeed."
> And in the meantime, I saw a man behind him throwing stones at him, making his shanks and ankles bleed, and shouting: "O people, he is a liar, so do not believe him!"
>
> I asked: "Who is this young man?" [The people] answered: "He is Muhammad. He claims to be a Prophet. And this is his uncle, Abū Lahab, claiming that he is a liar!"[183]

Two of the daughters of the noblest Prophet were the wives of two of Abū Lahab's sons. One of them, Ruqayyah, was the wife of ʿUtbah Ibn Abī Lahab, and her sister, Umm Kulthūm, was the wife of ʿUtaybah Ibn Abī Lahab. And when the verse of *Perish the hands of Abū Lahab! Perish he!* was revealed, Abū Lahab and Umm Jamīl told their sons: "Divorce Muhammad's daughters," and they did so. Then, Othman Ibn ʿAffān married Ruqayyah in Mecca, and she migrated with him to Abyssinia, where she gave birth to his son whom he named ʿAbdullāh. When the boy turned six a rooster pecked his right eye. His face swelled up and he fell ill and died.

Ruqayyah contracted typhoid at the Battle of Badr and by the command of God's Messenger because of [Ruqayyah's] illness, Othman did not fight in that battle. On the day of the Battle of Badr, she passed away, and then was buried on the day Zayd Ibn Ḥārithah brought the good news of the victory granted them by God.[184]

ʿUtaybah Ibn Abī Lahab divorced Umm Kulthūm before the marriage was consummated, so Othman married her after Ruqayyah's passing. That was in the third year after the migration. She passed away in the ninth year after the migration and God's Messenger performed the funeral prayer for her, Asmāʾ bint Umays and Ṣafiyyah bint ʿAbd al-Muṭṭālib having washed her for burial.[185]

When Umm Kulthūm died, God's Messenger sat by her grave, his eyes full of tears, and said:

قَالَ: هَلْ مِنْكُمْ مِنْ أَحَدٍ لَمْ يُقَارِفِ اللَّيْلَةَ؟ وَلَا يَدْخُلِ الْقَبْرَ رَجُلٌ قَارَفَ أَهْلَهُ، فَلَمْ يَدْخُلْ عُثْمَانُ.[186]

"Is there anyone among you who has not had sexual intercourse tonight? A man who has had sexual intercourse with his wife should not enter a grave. Othman did not enter."

It becomes clear that Othman consummated his marriage to his new wife the same night that Umm Kulthūm passed away, because of being beaten by him, according to the narrations. He was not at all upset by the Prophet's daughter's death.

Ibn Athīr relates that Bayhaqī quotes Qatādah as saying that ʿUtbah Ibn Abī Lahab overpowered God's Messenger, hurt him, and tore his shirt. So God's Messenger told him: "I surely ask God to let His dog overpower you!"

Thereafter, ʿUtbah set off with a band of Quraysh for the Levant, and they dismounted for the night in a place called Zarqāʾ.

However, a lion was circling them. Out of all the group, the lion attacked ʿUtbah, grabbing his head, biting hard on it, and killing him.[187]

Bayhaqī relates from ʿUrwah, from his father: "When the lion had circled them that night, it left them alone, and they slept. [When they sensed danger, they got up] and put ʿUtbah in the middle. The lion then approached and pounced over them, seizing ʿUtbah's head and rending it apart (*fadaghahu*)."[188]

Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr says:

إِنَّ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وآله كَانَ إِذَا مَشَى يَتَكَفَّأُ وَكَانَ الْحَكَمُ بْنُ أَبِي الْعَاصِ يَحْكِيهِ، فَالْتَفَتَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه يَوْمًا فَرَآهُ يَفْعَلُ ذَلِكَ. فَقَالَ: فَكَذَلِكَ فَلْتَكُنْ، فَكَانَ الْحَكَمُ مُخْتَلِجًا يَرْتَعِشُ مِنْ يَوْمَئِذٍ.[189]

"The Prophet would lean forward when he walked and Ḥakam Ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ would mimic him, so one day, the Prophet turned around, saw him doing so, and said to him: 'May you stay that way!' Since that day Ḥakam would twitch and tremble!"

Ibn Athīr relates that the Prophet spoke to his Lord, saying:

اللَّهُمَّ اشْدُدْ وَطْأَتَكَ عَلَى مُضَرَ مِثْلَ سِنِي يُوسُفَ. فَجُهِدُوا حَتَّى أَكَلُوا الْعِلْهِزَ.[190]

"O God, make Your punishment of Muḍar severe like the years [of famine] for Joseph! They were then strained to the point that they ate *ʿilhiz* [camel blood and fleece, mixed and boiled]."

In any case, the punishment sent down in answer to God's Messenger's prayer could be either collective or individual, and there are examples of both recorded in chronicles and biographies. So what impediment is there to the Prophet's prayer being answered through the stone having come down from Heaven onto the head of Ḥārith Fahrī or Jābir Ibn Haḍr, who stubbornly resisted Islam, was scornful of the appointment of the leader, and was insolent to, resentful of, and critical of God's Messenger? There is nothing wrong with stones having rained upon him, killing him on the spot!

As for Ibn Taymiyyah's objection that if it had truly happened, it would have been as well known as the story of the elephant-riders, the answer is: The analogy drawn between this story and the story of the elephant is an analogy of disparity, because this was an incident involving one person that hypocrites and opponents had a motive to cover up as much as they could. It was like the incident at the Ghadīr, because they tried to cover that up, pretending it was mundane or dividing the hadith up and putting each part in a different chapter in the collections, separating the beginning of the hadith from the end of it, or changing the meaning of *walāyah* from that bright truth, or denying the whole event. They did whatever they could, but God still kept the matter alive, forcing both friend and foe to submit to the greatness of the story.

The story about the elephant-riders was one of God's House's and the Household of Prophecy's miracles, acknowledged by all of the Quraysh and indeed all Arabs and all other nations. It is a true testimony to the Holiest Place, God's Holy House, attributed to Him, the One. That House is circumambulated by all nations, is the destination for all *ḥajj* pilgrims, *ʿumrah* pilgrims, and devotees. All nations expect to receive blessings from that House, so a story about it cannot compare with the incident involving Ḥārith, who came to God's Messenger on his own, spoke to him, and was punished!

It is said that:

> On the day of ʿĀshūrā, during the time of Ayotollah Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī, may God exalt his noble station, processions of mourners and wailers would set off in Holy Najaf, passing through all the districts of the city. Shaykh Anṣārī would walk alongside them. One of the Effendis[191] of that era, who was the governor of Najaf, appointed by the Ottoman government in Baghdad, approached the Shaykh, and after greeting him, said: "O Shaykh, I have a question. There is no doubt that Imam Husayn was unlawfully killed, and his murder was an evil deed committed by Yazīd Ibn Muʿāwiyah. But, what need is there to form these processions, mourn, weep, and recite odes and elegies again every year?

What need is there to beat your chests and flagellate yourselves with chains?"

The Shaykh's response was:

> At Ghadīr Khumm, God's Messenger lifted Ali's hand up in front of ten thousand pilgrims, so that everyone could see, and said: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master," but you deny it by saying: "It was a personal matter, following a dispute with Zayd Ibn Ḥārithah, or following a complaint made by Buraydah, so the Prophet meant: "Whoever loves me, should also love Ali, or whoever's cousin I am, so too is Ali his cousin."
>
> The only reason we mourn again every year, and our men, women, and children—young and old—put clay on their heads and we set off through the markets and streets and weep is to commemorate Husayn and his greatness, so that you cannot also deny that and say: "It was a personal matter! Husayn rebelled against Yazīd, the Master [sic] of the Faithful's and the sultan of his time's government, and was killed on that path."

It is said that the Shaykh's ingenuity so confounded the Effendi that he was lost for words. As the Qur'an says:

فَبُهِتَ الَّذِي كَفَرَ

thus he who disbelieved was confounded (2:258).

Actually, the claim by Ibn Taymiyyah that all classes of authors have overlooked this matter is just a lie.

Have you not read the names of the great scholars, and their reliable books, which attribute these narrations—via their chains of transmission—to the great companions Ḥudhayfah Ibn al-Yamān, and Sufyān Ibn ʿUyaynah, known for his proficiency in exegesis and hadith science and considered to be a reliable narrator by all Sunnis? As the poet says:

شب پره گر وصل آفتاب نخواهد رونق بازار آفتاب نکاهد

Even if the bat does not want to reach the sun
That does not diminish its beauty and splendor!

A friend said:

> One night, I went to Zaynab's shrine in Cairo, where I saw an astonishing clamor, because it was Thursday night and Sunnis from all parts of Cairo had gathered there to visit Ali's daughter. They were mourning, weeping, and lamenting so much that I was greatly astonished! I was surprised to see how the Sunnis were lamenting Zaynab, and venerating

her shrine, circumambulating her burial chamber, kissing it, and rubbing dust taken from the links of the grille (*ḍarīḥ*) on their eyes.

An hour passed, and then a fluent speaker climbed the pulpit and preached about hadiths on the Infallible Household, and concluded, by praying, everyone present in the shrine responding: "Amen." Part of his prayer was: "O God, curse the Wahhābīs," and everyone responded: "Amen."

This is proof of what we stated above: that all Sunni sects are anti-Wahhābī, and consider their chiefs Ibn Taymiyyah and Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb to deviants with corrupt beliefs.

The sixth objection: This hadith says that the person who said these words had been commanded to follow the five pillars of Islam. As he accepted those, he was a Muslim. We know that during the time of the Prophet no Muslim was punished.

The answer is: This hadith, as well as proving Ḥārith's initial Islam, also proves his ultimate disbelief, apostasy, and turning away, because he doubted God's Messenger's Prophethood after hearing the Ghadīr Hadith; so he was punishable for his anger with and agitation over God's law appointing the Master of the Faithful as leader. Furthermore, punishment was also what he had prayed for.

Apart from that, we read of instances in history and the hadith of Muslims who were also punished and tested because of ingratitude for blessings and audacity to God's Messenger, like the Bedouin who had fallen ill. The Prophet went to visit him, and told him: "There's no harm. Expiation (*ṭahūr*)!"

The Bedouin said:

قُلْتَ طَهُورٌ كَلَّا، بَلْ هِيَ حُمَّى تَفُورُ عَلَى شَيْخٍ كَبِيرٍ تُزِيرُهُ الْقُبُورَ!

"You have said: 'Expiation.' Certainly not. On the contrary, it is a severe fever that is boiling over an old man, whom the graves are awaiting!"

The Prophet stated:

فَنَعَمْ إِذاً، فَمَا أَمْسَى مِنَ الْغَدِ إِلَّا مَيِّتاً.[192]

"So be it!" The next morning he was dead.

The seventh objection: Ḥārith Ibn Nuᶜmān was not known to have been a companion, and his name is like those names mentioned by conjurers and myth- and tale-tellers.

The story itself is like the story of *The Ape and His Magic Cap*! Books have been written setting out the names of companions from whom hadiths have been narrated even if those hadiths are weak! Examples of such books are *al-Istiᶜāb*, by Ibn ᶜAbd al-Birr, books by

Ibn Mundah and Abū Nuʿaym Iṣfahānī and Ḥāfiẓ Abū Mūsā and so on, but none of them mentions this man's name. Thus it is clear that he is not mentioned in any narrations.

It is because these great writers only mention what is narrated on the authority of learned men, not tales of fiction such as those in *Tanaqqulāt al-Anwār* by Bakrī the Liar and so on![193]

Response: It is best to content ourselves with what Shaykh al-Islam, Imam al-Ḥuffāẓ, Aḥmad Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Kinānī ʿAsqalānī Shāfiʿī, known as Ibn Ḥajar (773–852 AH), says in the introduction to his book *al-Iṣābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*.

Similarly, ʿAllāmah Amīnī also quotes Ibn Ḥajar in response to this objection.[194]

The reference books on companions cannot include all their names. Every author has just recorded as many as he knew and had read. Later ones then came along and added what their predecessors had missed out. In spite of this, the reference books do not even list a tenth of the names of all the companions. It is not even possible to do so.

That is because a "companion" in Sunni jargon is anyone who met the Prophet as a believer and died as a Muslim,[195] even someone who apostatized between meeting the Prophet and dying, such as Ashʿath Ibn Qays, who apostatized after becoming a believer, but became a Muslim again during Abū Bakr's term.[196]

Thus, those who lived to see the Prophet, and were believers, but lived between the mountains and deserts or in the towns, villages, and hamlets, were too numerous to mention. It is impossible to list all their names. What Ibn Ḥajar ʿAsqalānī says in *al-Iṣābah* after praising [God] and invoking blessing [upon the Prophet and his Family] is: "Now then: Some of the noblest religious knowledge is knowledge of prophetic hadith, and in order to acquaint oneself with it, to distinguish between God's Messenger's companions and those who came later on."

A number of memorizers have compiled books on the subject containing as much as they have read. The first one I know to have written an entire book on the subject is Abū ʿAbdillāh Bukhārī, whom Abū al-Qāsim Baghawī and others quote.

A number of his shaykhs, such as Khalīfah Ibn Khayyāṭ and Muhammad Ibn Saʿd, and his contemporaries, such as Yaʿqūb Ibn Sufyān and Abū Bakr Ibn Abī Khaythamah, collected together the names of God's Messenger's companions and those who came after them.

And after them, a number of scholars wrote on this subject, for example Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī, Abū Bakr Ibn Abī Dāwūd, and ʿAbdān, and others before them, such as Maṭīn, then Abū Ali Ibn Sakan, Abū Ḥafṣ Ibn Shāhīn, Abū Manṣūr Māwardī, and Abū Ḥātim Ibn Ḥibbān, as well as Ṭabarānī in *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*; then Abū ʿAbdillāh Ibn Mundah and Abū Nuʿaym, and then Omar Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr, who called his book *al-Istīʿāb*, thinking that he had absorbed all previous books.

In spite of this, many companions' names were missed, and so Abū Bakr Ibn Fatḥūn added an appendix incorporating all the names missed by Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr.

Many people added appendices to nice books, and Abū Mūsā Madīnī has added a long appendix to Abū Mundah's book.

Contemporary to the above authors were others, too numerous to mention, who also wrote on the subject, right up to the beginning of the seventh century when ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Athīr wrote a copious book on the subject, calling it *Usd al-Ghābah*, compiling together many previous works. However, he copied his predecessors, mixed up companions with non-companions, and also overlooked many of the mistakes and misconceptions in his predecessor's books.

Similarly, Ḥāfiẓ Abū ʿAbdillāh Dhahabī, in his book, took the names of the companions from *Usd al-Ghābah*, added other names, and listed those about whom there is uncertainty over whether they were God's Messenger's companions or not. Nevertheless, not only did he fail to include all the companions' names, he did not even come close.

Through research, I have come across many names missed by Dhahabī, and others that are not in Dhahabī's book, or the work he based it on, but that do fulfil the criteria set by Dhahabī and Ibn al-Athīr for qualifying as companions.

Hence, I have compiled a big book in which I have distinguished companions from non-companions. However, no matter how hard I have tried, I have not found even a tenth of the number of companions that Abū Dharʿah Rāzī claims there were:

God's Messenger passed away, more than a hundred thousand people, both men and women, having seen or heard him. Thus they all relate what they heard him say or saw him [do or be].[197] In his appendix to *al-Istīʿāb*, Ibn Fatḥūn writes that Abū Dharʿah said this in answer to the question of how many actually narrated from God's Messenger, so what of those other [companions who did not narrate]?

Nevertheless, there are three thousand five hundred people mentioned either by name, teknonym, or both in *al-Istīʿāb*. Ibn Fatḥūn says that by applying the same criteria as ʿAbd al-Birr, he found a similar number [i.e. nearly three thousand five hundred people] who were missed by the latter.

My comment: I have seen in Ḥāfiẓ Dhahabī's own handwriting on the cover of his book *al-Tajrīd*: "The total may be eight thousand people, more or less!"

I then saw, also in his handwriting: "The total number of people in *Usd al-Ghābah* is seven thousand, five hundred fifty-four."

What also supports Abū Dharʿah's claim is what Bukhārī and Muslim (*al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*) say about Tabūk, on the authority of Kaʿb Ibn Mālik: "There were too many people to record!"

Via an authentic chain, Khaṭīb quotes Nūrī as saying: "Anyone who prefers Ali to Othman disparages twelve thousand people whom God's Messenger was pleased with when he died." Nawawī says:

> That was twelve years after the Prophet's death, after many men whose names are unrecorded were killed in the Apostasy Wars during Abū Bakr's term. Next, innumerable men died in the conquests during Omar's term, the great plague, the plague of ʿAmwās,[198] and elsewhere. The reason why their names are unrecorded is that most of them went on the Farewell Pilgrimage. God knows best.[199]

In the discussion on the Ghadīr we said that a hundred thousand or more people went on the Farewell Pilgrimage with God's Messenger. Naturally it is impossible to recount all their names, so how could these books include them all?! Most Arabs were scattered around the deserts, and would only ever temporarily come to the towns, for particular purposes. They would visit the Prophet, but not normally relate any hadith from him [or about] him.

The writers would only mention those people who were famous, well known, and frequently referred to in narrations.

It is clear from the above that this hypercritical man's objection is baseless and unfair, besides which the lack of any mention of this man as a companion may be because of his eventual apostasy.

In *Tafsīr al-Manār*, in Sayyid Muhammad Rashīd Riḍā's compilation of Shaykh Muhammad ʿAbduh's discussions, he accepts and narrates the Ghadīr Hadith, but applies a Sunni interpretation to *walāyah*, resists exposing the truth, and takes Ibn Taymiyyah's objections to the interpretation of *A petitioner prayed...* and discusses them.[200]

And our great master ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī answers him fully in *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*.[201]

In fact, it truly is appalling that someone like Shaykh Muhammad ʿAbduh, who claims to be open-minded, is imprisoned by those Sunni opinions and ideas, because whenever the discussion turns to Shiʿism and *walāyah*, he glosses over it contemptuously and does not concede to the truth. In short, he cannot allow himself to be defeated and to surrender to the truth!

It becomes clear that there is no hope for these so-called intellectuals who are imprisoned by their commanding selves, who have arrogant personalities and only pursue fame and glory! As the great Ḥasanī Sayyid Ibn Ṭabāṭabā Iṣfahānī (d. 322) says:

يَا مَنْ يُسِرُّ لِيَ الْعَدَاوَةَ أَبْدِهَا ... وَاعْمَدْ لِكَرْهِي بِجُهْدِكَ أَوْ ذَرِ

لِلّٰهِ عِنْدِي عَادَةٌ مَشْكُورَةٌ ... فِيمَنْ يُعَادِينِي فَلَا تَتَحَيَّرِ

أَنَا وَاثِقٌ بِدُعَاءِ جَدِّي الْمُصْطَفَى ... لِأَبِي غَدَاةَ غَدِيرِ خُمٍّ فَاحْذَرِ

وَاللّٰهِ أَسْعَدَنَا بِإِرْثِ دُعَائِهِ ... فِيمَنْ يُعَادِي أَوْ يُوَالِي فَاصْبِرِ[202]

In this ode, according to Thaʿlabī, *Thimār al-Qulūb*, p. 511, the poet is addressing Abū Ali Rostamī:

1. O you, who are hiding your enmity from me, show it, and betake yourself earnestly to unpleasantness towards me or disperse!
2. I have a custom with regard to whoever shows enmity towards me, for which God thanks me, so do not be astonished!
3. I have confidence in my grandfather, the Chosen One's, prayer for my father, in the forenoon at Ghadīr Khumm, so beware!
4. By God, he has made us prosperous via the inheritance of his prayer with regard to whoever is a foe or a friend, so forebear!

Shaykh al-Islam Ḥamwīnī narrates via Abū al-Hasan Wāḥidī via his chain from ʿAbdullāh Ibn Faḍl Rāfiʿī in Basra:

I heard Rabīʿ Ibn Salmān say:

> I told Shāfiʿī that there is a group here who cannot stand hearing the Household's virtues. If anyone wants to mention a virtue of theirs, they say: "This is a Rāfiḍī (rejectionist)." Thereafter, Shāfiʿī recited these couplets:

إِذَا فِي مَجْلِسٍ ذَكَرُوا عَلِيّاً ... وَسِبْطَيْهِ وَفَاطِمَةَ الزَّكِيَّةْ 1

فَأَجْرَى بَعْضُهُمْ ذِكْرَى سِوَاهُمْ فَأَيْقِنْ أَنَّهُ ابْنُ سَلَقْلَقِيَّةْ 2
إِذَا ذَكَرُوا عَلِيًّا أَوْ بَنِيهِ تَشَاغَلَ بِالرِّوَايَاتِ الْعَلِيَّةْ[203] 3
وَقَالَ: تَجَاوَزُوا يَا قَوْمِ هَذَا فَهَذَا مِنْ حَدِيثِ الرَّافِضِيَّةْ 4
بَرِئْتُ إِلَى الْمُهَيْمِنِ مِنْ أُنَاسٍ يَرَوْنَ الرَّفْضَ حُبَّ الْفَاطِمِيَّةْ 5
عَلَى آلِ الرَّسُولِ صَلَاةُ رَبِّي وَلَعْنَتُهُ لِتِلْكَ الْجَاهِلِيَّةْ[204] 6

1. When they mention Ali, his two sons, and pure Fāṭimah at a gathering,
2. One of them mentions others; but be sure that he is the son of a woman who menstruates through her anus!
3. When they mention Ali or his sons, he busies himself with "important" stories,
4. And says: "Pay no attention, people! This is a Rāfiḍī hadith."
5. I am free of blame to the Guardian (*al-Muhaymin*), from any association with people who consider love for the Sons of Fāṭimah to be rejectionism!
6. May my Lord's Blessing be upon the Messenger's Family; and may His curse be on such ignorant people!

Peace, God's mercy, and blessings be upon you, O Master of the Faithful, Master of the Executors, Chief of the bright-faced, white-footed, and Imam of the monotheists! We complain to you, seek refuge in you, accept you as Master, and disavow your enemies.

اي روي ماه منتظر تو نو بهار حسن خال و خط تو مركز حسن و مدار حسن
ماهي نتافت، همچو تو از برج نيكوئي سروي نخاست چون قدت از جويبار حسن
خرّم شد از ملاحت تو عهد دلبري فرّخ شد از لطافت تو روزگار حسن
از دام زلف و دانهٔ خال تو در جهان يك مرغ دل نماند نگشته شكار حسن
دايم به لطف دايهٔ طبع از ميان جان مي پرورد به ناز ترا در كنار حسن
گر دلبت بنفشه از آن تازه و ترست كآب حيات ميخورد از جويبار حسن
حافظ طمع بريد كه بيند نظير تو ديّار نيست جز رخت اندر ديار حسن

O you, whose face is like the moon. You are the springtime of beauty and your beauty spot and beard growth are the center and axis of beauty.
The charm of magic is hidden in your dreamy eyes and beauty has settled in your curly hair.

The moon has never risen like your rising from the mansion of beauty
and the evergreen cypress has never towered from the river of
beauty like your stature.
The redness which is on your lip is tender and fresh because the water
of life sprays from the river of beauty.
Ḥāfiẓ has despaired of ever seeing the likes of your beauty
And there is none but your face in the land of beauty.

Lessons One Hundred Thirty-One to One Hundred Thirty-Four

ʿĪd al-Ghadīr Is the Greatest Festival in Islam, and It Is a Day to Felicitate Each Other

LESSONS ONE HUNDRED THIRTY-ONE TO ONE HUNDRED THIRTY-FOUR

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

And blessing upon Muhammad and his pure Household, and God's curse upon his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection! There is no power or strength except through Lofty, Glorious God.

Wise God says in His Glorious Book:

قَالَ عِيسَى ابْنُ مَرْيَمَ اللَّهُمَّ رَبَّنَا أَنْزِلْ عَلَيْنَا مَائِدَةً مِنَ السَّمَاءِ تَكُونُ لَنَا عِيدًا لِأَوَّلِنَا وَآخِرِنَا وَآيَةً مِنْكَ وَارْزُقْنَا وَأَنْتَ خَيْرُ الرَّازِقِينَ. قَالَ اللَّهُ إِنِّي مُنَزِّلُهَا عَلَيْكُمْ فَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بَعْدُ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنِّي أُعَذِّبُهُ عَذَابًا لَا أُعَذِّبُهُ أَحَدًا مِنَ الْعَالَمِينَ.

Said Jesus, son of Mary, "O God our Lord, send down to us a spread from heaven so that it may be a feast for us, for the first and last of us, and a sign from You. Give us sustenance, for You are the Best of Sustainers." God said: "I will send it down to you, but if anyone disbelieves after that, I will punish him with a punishment with which I have not punished anyone among the nations" (5:114–15).

As the poet says:

ما ثمر را به حقیقت ز شجر یافته ایم می نبریم جز را که ش ثمر یافته ایم
همه جا ناظر حقیم در اطوار وجود شکر گوییم و از این شکر شکر یافته ایم
از در کعبه در آدر حرم کعبه ما آنچه در یافتنها یم از ره در یافته ایم
تا جگر خون نشوی ره به در دل نبری ماره دل به دو صد خون جگر یافته ایم
هر کرا عیب نشد یافته از بهر ی است عیب ما یافت از آن شد که هنر یافته ایم
شیخ و زاهد همه زر یافته در حکمت دین ما در این فلسفه اکسیر نظر یافته ایم
سفر از خلق به حق کن ز ره فکر که ما گنج در یافتگان را ز سفر یافته ایم
تا شوی باخبر از خود خبر از خلق مجوی ما در این بیخبری اصل خبر یافته ایم

أي پسر پند نيوش از پدر پير كه ما دولت عافيت از پند پدر يافته ايم

برنداريم سر از پاي خُم باده فروش ما نهاديم سر اينجا كه أثر يافته ايم

دَر به دَر عمري از اين خانه به آن خانه شديم تا به خاك در ميخانه مقر يافته ايم

شب قدر از نظر خلق نهان آمد و ما اين شب قدر ز تأثير سحر يافته ايم

قمر از پرتو خورشيد منوّر شد و ما پرتو مهر در خشان ز قمر يافته ايم

طرفه گويند مسيحا كه خدايش پدر است ما خداوند مسيحا ز پسر يافته ايم

روشن از نورِ عَل چشم فؤاد است حكيم كه ز خاك قدمش كُحل بصر يافته ايم

We have come across the fruit of the tree of truth, so we will never cut a tree from the fruit of which we have benefited.

Surely we see God Exalted everywhere in existence and we have achieved gratitude!

Enter the sacred precinct of our Kaʿbah through the Kaʿbah's gate,

because we have only achieved what we have through[205] this gate!

Unless you endure and suffer you will never reach the heart's gate. We have endured and suffered much to reach it.

Someone's not seeing his own faults is evidence of his lack of skills,

Our fault is but found through our having skillfulness.

Shaykhs, ascetics, and their kind find gold in the wisdom of religion,

But we have found the elixir of looking at the philosophy of the religion.

Journey from creation to the Real via your thought

For we have found the treasure of those who have reached it through wayfaring.

Ask any of the creatures to be told about yourself,

Because we have learned the basic information through not knowing the creatures.

O son, take the advice of your elderly father

Because we have been blessed with health through listening to our father's advice.

We will not stop drinking wine from the jar of the wine seller

We have laid our heads on it because we have found the results of our deeds in full clarity.

We have wandered all our lives, from house to house

Till we settled in the dust on the threshold of the Tavern.

The Night of Decree is hidden from people

But we have found it through the effects of its small hours!

The moon shines with the light of the sun,

And we get our light from the sun lit up by the moon.

It is amazing that the Christians say that God is Christ's Father because we have found Christ's Lord through His so-called son!

My eye sees by Ali's light, for we have found dust from under his feet to be collyrium for our eyes![206]

يوم الغدير سوى العيدين لي عيد يوم يسر به السادات والصيد[207] 1

نال الامامة فيه المرتضى وله فيه من الله تشريف وتمجيد[208] 2

1. ʿId al-Ghadīr is like the other two festivals, a festival for me; a day on which masters and kings are happy.
2. On which Murtaḍā attained the Imamate and on which he was conferred distinction and honor by God.

وناصبي شديد النصب قابلني يوم الغدير بوجه غير ذي جذل 3

فقال: قل لي ماذا اليوم قلت له اليوم عيد امير المؤمنين علي 4

1. A man openly and fiercely hostile (to the Household) confronted me with an unhappy face on the Day of Ghadīr.
2. And said: "Tell me what day is it today?" I told him: "Today is a festival for the Master of the Faithful, Ali."

Al-Amālī by Abū ʿAbdillāh Nīshābūrī and *al-Amālī* by Shaykh Abū Jaʿfar Ṭūsī both include a narration on the authority of Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abī Naṣr from Imam Riḍā:

انه قال عليه السلام: حدثني ابي عن ابيه ان يوم الغدير في السماء اشهر منه في الارض. ان لله تعالى في الفردوس قصر البنة من فضة، ولبنة من ذهب، فيه مائة الف قبة حمراء، ومائة الف خيمة من ياقوتة خضراء، ترابه المسك والعنبر، فيه اربعة انهار: نهر من خمر، ونهر من ماء، ونهر من لبن، ونهر من عسل، حوافيه[209] اشجار جميع الفواكه، عليه الطيور، وابدانها من لؤلؤ، واجنحتها من ياقوت، تصوت بالوان الاصوات. اذا كان يوم الغدير ورد الى ذلك القصر اهل السموات يسبحون الله ويقدسونه ويهللونه.

فتطاير تلك الطيور، فتقع في ذلك الماء، وتمرغ على ذلك المسك والعنبر فاذا اجتمع الملائكة طارت فينفض ذلك عليهم. وانهم في ذلك اليوم ليتهادون نثار فاطمة عليها السلام.

فاذا كان آخر اليوم، نودوا: انصرفوا الى مراتبكم، فقد أمنتم من الخطر والزلل الى قابل في هذا اليوم تكرمة لمحمد وعلي. الخبر.[210]

[Imam Riḍā] said:

My father has related to me from his father that Ghadīr Day is more illustrious in Heaven than it is on earth. God, Exalted, has a palace in Paradise [built out of] alternating silver and gold bricks. In it there are a hundred thousand red domes and a hundred thousand pavilions made of green corundum. Its earth is of musk and ambergris, and there are four rivers in it: a river of wine, a river of water, a river of milk, and a river of honey. Around [the palace] there are fruit trees bearing all kinds of fruits, and atop [the palace] there are birds whose bodies are [made] of pearls and whose wings are [made] of rubies. They all sing differently. When it is Ghadīr Day, those in the heavens enter this palace, praise and hallow God, and say that there is no god but Him. Then, the birds fly about, drop into the water, and wallow in that musk and ambergris. Then, when the angels have gathered together, they fly up, spraying them with [musk and ambergris]; and on that day, they gift each other with Fāṭimah's confetti.

When the Day of Ghadīr comes to an end, they are called to: "Go back to your residences, for you have been secured from danger and error until the same day next year in honor of Muhammad and Ali..."

Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid by Shaykh Ṭūsī, says about the Ghadīr sermon:

ان امیر المؤمنین علیه السلام قال: ان هذا یوم عظیم الشأن، فیه وقع الفرج، ورفع الدرج وصحت الحجج، وهو یوم الایضاح والافصاح عن المقام الصراح، ویوم کمال الدین، ویوم العهد المعهود، ویوم الشاهد والمشهود، ویوم تبیان العقود عن النفاق والجحود، ویوم البیان عن حقائق الایمان، ویوم دحر الشیطان، ویوم البرهان، هذا یوم الفصل الذی کنتم توعدون، هذا یوم الملأ الاعلی الذی انتم عنه معرضون، هذا یوم الارشاد ویوم المحنة للعباد، ویوم الدلیل علی الرواد، هذا یوم ابدی خفایا الصدور ومضمرات الامور، هذا یوم النصوص علی اهل الخصوص، هذا یوم شیث، هذا یوم ادریس، هذا یوم یوشع، هذا یوم شمعون.[211]

هذا یوم الامن المأمون، هذا یوم اظهار المصون من المکنون، هذا یوم ابلاء السرائر.

فلم یزل علیه السلام یقول: هذا یوم هذا یوم...

فراقبوا الله عزوجل، واتقوه واسمعوا له واطیعوه واحذروا المکر ولا تخادعوه وفتشوا ضمائرکم ولا تواربوه وتقربوا الی الله تعالی بتوحیده وطاعة من امرکم ان تطیعوه ولا تمسکوا ولا یجمح بکم الغی فتضلوا عن سبیل الرشاد باتباع اولئک الذین ضلوا واضلوا.

قال الله عز من قائل في طائفة ذكرهم بالذم في كتابه:

انا اطعنا سادتنا وكبرائنا فاضلونا السبيلا ربنا ءاتهم ضعفين من العذاب والعنهم لعنا كبيرا

وقال تعالى:

واذ يتحاجون في النار فيقول الضعفاؤا للذين استكبروا انا كنا لكم تبعا فهل انتم مغنون عنا

(47:40) من عذاب الله من شيء قالوا لو هدانا الله لهديناكم. (21:14)

افتدرون الاستكبار ما هو؟ هو ترك الطاعة لمن امروا بطاعته والترفع على من ندبوا الى متابعته

والقرآن ينطق من هذا عن كثير، ان تدبره متدبر زجره ووعظه الى آخر الخطبة.[212]

The Master of the Faithful said:

> Surely today is of great importance on which salvation happened and the way up was raised, and the proofs (*al-ḥujaj*) are sound. It is the day of clarification and speaking clearly about the pure position and the day the religion was perfected and the day of the known covenant, the day of the witness and what was witnessed, the day when pacts are distinguished from hypocrisy and denial, the day truths and belief are made clear, the day Satan is rejected and the day of proof (*al-burhān*).
>
> Today is the day of distinction [between right and wrong] that you were promised. Today is the day of the heavenly host whom you are turning away from! Today is the day of guidance, and the day the servants are tested, and it is the day of direction for scouts. This is a day on which hearts' secrets and concealed matters are revealed. This is the day of the clear appointment of the people of distinction. Today is the day of Seth. Today is the day of Enoch. Today is the day of Joshua. Today is the day of Simon. Today is the day of assured safety; today is when what was kept in a repository is taken out of hiding. Today is the day when souls are tested.

He kept saying: "Today is the day... Today is the day..."

So, be wary of the Honorable and Exalted God. Fear Him, listen to and obey Him! Be wary of cunning, and do not try cheating Him. Examine your consciences, do not try to outwit Him, and seek Exalted God's favor (*taqarrabū ilā Allāh*) through monotheism, and obeying whomever He commanded you to obey. Do not seize or be caused to incline by deviation, thus straying from the path of integrity by following those who stray and mislead. God, Powerful is He, says about a group whom He reproaches in His Book: *And they shall*

say: "O Our Lord, surely we obeyed our leaders and great men, and they misled us from the Way, and led us the off track! O our Lord! Give them a double punishment and curse them with a mighty curse!" (33:67–68).

And Exalted God says: *And when they dispute with each other in hell, the weak will say to those who were arrogant: "Surely we were your followers, will you then avert from us* (40:47) *any of God's punishment?" They will reply: "Had God guided us, we would have guided you!"* (14:21). Do you know what arrogance is? Arrogance is not obeying someone whom they have been commanded to obey and considering themselves to be above someone they have been charged with following. And the Qur'an says this about many. If someone who reflects does so, it will restrain and warn him...

Fanjkirdī says:

لا تتكرن غدير خم انه كالشمس فى اشراقها بل اظهر 1

فيه امامة حيدر وكماله وجلاله حتى القيامة تذكر[213] 2

1. Never ever forget Ghadīr Khumm,
For it is like the sun when it is rising, or even brighter;
2. In it, is the Imamate of Ḥaydar and his perfection,
And his glory will be mentioned until the Day of Resurrection.

Bashnavī Kurdī says:

يوم الغدير لذى الولاية عيد ولدى النواصب فضله بجحود 1

يوم يوسم فى السماء بأنه العهد وفيه ذلك المعهود 2

والارض بالميراث اضحت وسمه لوطاع موطود وكف حسود[214] 3

1. Ghadīr Day is a Festival for him who accepts his Master (*dhī walāyah*), but its virtue is denied by those openly hostile [to the Household].
2. A day branded in Heaven as a covenant and upon it is that pledge,
3. And earth's brand became an inheritance from the heavens, whether a firm one obeys and an envious one refrains!'

Bashnavī also says:

وقد شهدوا عيد الغدير واسمعوا مقال رسول الله من غير كتمان 1

ألست بكم اولى من الناس كلهم فقالوا: بلى! يا افضل الانس والجان 2

قام خطيبا بين اعواد منبر ونادى باعلى الصوت جهرا باعلان 3

بحيدرة والقوم خرس اذلة قلوبهم ما بين خلف وعينان 4

فلبى مجيبا ثم اسرع مقبلا بوجه كمثل البدر فى غصن البان 5

فلاقاه بالترحيب ثم ارتقى به اليه وصار الطهر للمصطفى ثان 6

وشال بعضديه وقال وقد صغى الى القول اقصى القوم تالله والدانى 7

على اخى لا فرق بينى وبينه كهارون من موسى الكليم بن عمران 8

ووارث علمى والخليفة فى غد على امتى بعدى اذا زرت جثمانى 9

فيارب من والى عليا فواله وعاد الذى عاداه واغضب على الثانى 10[215]

1. They indeed came together on the Festival of Ghadīr, and were given to hear God's Messenger saying unsuppressedly:
2. "Do I not have greater authority over you than anyone else?" They replied, "Yes, O best of all people and *jinn*!"
3. He then stood up to deliver a sermon among the wooden planks of a pulpit and called at the top of his voice to announce
4. Ḥaydarah leaving everyone dumbstruck [and] submissive, their hearts either behind themselves or in their eyes.
5. So he responded obediently, and hurried forward, with a face like the full moon among the branches of the ben trees.
6. So he received him with a welcome, then lifted him up to himself and the pure one (*Ṭuhr*) became the Chosen One's (*Muṣṭafā's*) second.
7. [The Prophet] lifted Ali's upper arms, and said, with—by God—the freest and lowest people listening to what he said:
8. "Ali is my brother. There is no difference between him and me, as Aaron was to Moses son of Amram unto whom [God] spake.
9. And the heir to my knowledge, and the Successor to me on the morrow over my nations when I visit my lifeless body.
10. So my Lord, be a Guardian to whoever accepts Ali as Master, an enemy to whoever is his enemy; be angry with whoever hates him!"

In any case, the Ghadīr Festival is called a festival because the event and important incidents that took place did so on that day, including God's Messenger delivering a sermon; lifting up Ali's upper arms so high that his armpits could be seen; presenting him to everyone, and then commanding them all to greet him by saying: "Peace be upon you, O Master of the Faithful," after appointing him as successor, and giving him complete divine authority; the revelation of the verse on the perfection of the religion and completion of the bless-

ing; the Delivery Verse and the opponents' submission to that greatness and true and apparent splendor, followed by their opposition as soon as the Prophet passed away; and finally the immediate consequences, all of which are linked to, are attributable to, and are evidence of Ghadīr Day, and those blessings come down on the blessed.

It is because *ʿĪd* ("festival") comes from *ʿawada* meaning "return." *Aqrab al-Mawārid* says: "Any day on which there is a gathering, or commemoration of a meritorious person, or according to some, an important event, is an *ʿĪd*." Ibn ʿArābī says: "It is because it returns with every year with new joy."

ʿĪd is derived from the root *ʿlwd*. The [letter *wāw*] turned into a *yaʾ* because of the *sukūn* after the *kasrah*, so it became *ʿĪd*. The plural is *aʿyād* and the diminutive is *ʿuyayd*. The weak letter is used either because the singular is *ʿīd* or to distinguish it from *ʿūd*, meaning "wood," the plural of which is *aʿwād* and the diminutive of which is *ʿuwayd* from the root *ʿād* (he/it returned [to something]); *yaʿūd* he/it returns; [verbal noun:] *ʿawd* (return), *ʿawdah* (return), or *maʿād* (place of return).

Ṣiḥāḥ al-Lughah and *al-Miṣbāḥ al-Munīr* both say something similar. *Al-Miṣbāḥ* adds *ʿayyadtu taʿyīdan*, which means "I was present at the festival."

Now that we have understood the lexical meaning of *ʿĪd*, let us look at the technical sense in which various people, sects, religions, and faiths use it.

To make it clear, we should say: Every sect, group, nation, or school of thought has something like an annual commemoration of an important incident or event, to honor it and reinforce the spirit and meaning of it. They joyfully and happily celebrate it even if the event is long past. By remembering the spirit of that occasion, they become closer to it and quench their thirst.

Worldly people who only pursue worldly gain only celebrate worldly incidents. For example kings celebrate when commanding armies, shedding blood, and defeating enemies who had conspired to overthrow them. Then, every year, on that occasion, they celebrate the victory.

The ancient Persians celebrated Nawrūz as a festival because that was when the grass started growing and trees started sprouting leaves again—the arrival of the season when the earth starts laughing again after the end of autumn and winter, and it is brighter every day.

This is the language spouted by those who take no interest in the spiritual meaning of life, and believe that all that matters to humanity

is the physical and greenness. In fact, what difference is there between their new-year festival and the animals who celebrate in spring when they begin grazing in the fields and meadows again after the depressing drudgery of winter? So, what separates such people from animals? They celebrate different aspects but in essence they are just the same.

We read in *Kashf al-Maḥajjah* that Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs did not celebrate the day his son was born, but did celebrate the day he attained majority, when his son received the honor of being made accountable. Section 103 says:

> O my son, Muhammad!
>
> When you reach the age at which Honorable and Exalted God honors you with full development of your mind, and He is worthy of your deeming Him worthy of sitting with, speaking to, and entering into His Holy Presence to obey Him, that time should be noted and recorded by you as one of the best times and festivals. Whenever your blessed life takes you to that time every year give thanks to, charitable donations for, and services to the Bestower of that mind that shows you the honor of the world and the resurrection. Note that prior to you, I called your sister [Sharaf al-Ashrāf] to me, shortly before her attaining majority, and explained to her what an honor she was being given to bear by God, august is His splendor, allowing her to serve Him, august is His splendor, through much or little. I refer to it in the book *al-Bahjah li Thamarat al-Maḥajjah*.

Section 104:

> If I stay alive through the mercy and care that God, august is His splendor, has accustomed me to, I will make the day of your honor a festival on which I will make a charitable donation of one hundred fifty dinars, ten dinars for each year—if you attain majority based on years. I will thus work in service of Him, because it is no other's but His property, august is His splendor, and I am His possession and you are also his servant, so carry to Him of your property whatever He wants you to because of His splendor.[216]

Divinely revealed religions set festivals for their followers on the basis of humanity's values, attaining faith goals, freeing us from the noose of polytheism and the tyrants who put people to work doing their bidding and exploiting them for their arrogant purposes.

The holy religion of Islam has two festivals—ʿĪd al-Fiṭr and ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā. ʿĪd al-Fiṭr was made part of the religious code because of

people's abstinence from excessive appetites for an entire month, namely the month of Ramaḍān, because they fasted during the day and prayed through the nights, and their spiritual or non-material state improved on account of their performing more good deeds than on any other days, such as donating in the way of God, reciting the Noble Qur'an more, abstaining from unlawful and abominable acts, cleansing and purifying the commanding self, enabling them to become lighter, transcend, and soar high to the Worlds of Holiness—because food, appetite, and anger are the keys to Hell and to Satan's dominion! During this month God has made hunger and thirst His heavenly spread for His guests, and it is clear that it is the best gift from the Lord of Lords.

As the poet points out:

اندرون از طعام خالی دار تا در آن نور معرفت بین

Empty your belly of food
To see the light of knowledge in it.

We should consider that day to be a festival (*ʿīd*) and receive our *ʿīd* present from God, the Generous, the Merciful at this time that is the time to attain the result and the reward. Celebrating a festival does not mean playing musical instruments or beating drums, and does not mean eating sweetmeats, wearing colorful clothes, or animalistic recreation. On the contrary, it means a higher level of cleansing and purification and greater refinement of yourself to prepare to receive blessings and for the divine spread to come down.

Two showers are recommended on the eve of ʿĪd al-Fiṭr: one at the beginning of the night, and the other at the end. It is a night to stay awake, that is, keeping busy worshiping, standing [in prayer] and remembrance, and remembrance of the Pre-eternal and Eternal Beloved. It is also commendable to shower on the Day of Fiṭr and then go for the congregational *ʿīd* prayer, performing it in the desert with everyone else, in its unique format of two *rakʿahs* with nine *qunūts*,[217] and [outside prayer], reciting:

الله اكبر، الله اكبر، لا اله الا الله والله اكبر، الله اكبر، ولله الحمد والحمد لله على ما هدانا وله الشكر على ما اولانا.

"God is too Great to describe, God is too Great to describe. There is no god but God. God is too Great to describe. God is too Great to describe. All praise is due to God. Praise be to God for what He has

guided us to, and thanks be to Him for the favor He has rendered us."

ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā was made part of the shariʿa, because people, out of longing to see God's Face,[218] have left everything behind them—their homelands, families, houses, and business—and set out for the Holy Mosque, Mecca, and they have [entered pilgrim sanctity,] circumambulated the House, walked and jogged laps between the hills, [cut a lock of hair], re-entered pilgrim sanctity before staying at Arafat outside the holy precinct, stayed the night at Muzdalifah, permitted to do so by God, then proceeded to Minā, thrown seven stones at Satan, made a sacrifice, and had their heads shaved, throughout all of which time [the men] have been practically barefooted and completely bareheaded while seeking their Beloved.[219] It is appropriate that they should celebrate and rejoice upon exiting pilgrim sanctity out of gratitude to God for accepting all these deeds that were both difficult and a pleasure to perform. Now they praise God and prepare for the festival rites constituting remembrance of God and further purification. They perform the *ʿīd* prayer and let their tongues loose on sanctifying and glorifying God, proclaiming God's Beauty and declaring His Oneness and Unity of Essence, Names, Attributes, and acts in the world. They say:

الله اكبر الله اكبر لا اله الا الله والله اكبر الله اكبر ولله الحمد الله اكبر على ما رزقنا من بهيمة الانعام، والحمد لله على ما ابلانا

"God is too Great to describe. God is too Great to describe. There is no god but God, and God is too Great to describe. God is too Great to describe. All praise is due to God. Praise be to God for giving us our provision out of animals; and praise be to God for caring for us."

Not only the pilgrims in Mecca and Minā, but all Muslims in the world must rejoice over this greatest gift that their brothers [and sisters] have received in those Holy Places. Following the rites that they have performed in Dhū al-Qaʿdah and the first ten days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, they should also sacrifice, and, in their bare feet, follow the Imam out to the desert to establish congregational *ʿīd* prayer!

Friday is also a festival, because it is the day on which people congregate to pray *jumuʿah* (Friday) prayer, listen to the two sermons, and purify themselves. That is why God calls this day *jumuʿah*, i.e. the day of congregation (*ijtimāʿ*) and cohesion of the Islamic community. Pre-Islamically, it was known as *yawm al-ʿurūbah* (the Day of Arabdom). Islam has made Friday prayer a specifically designated obligation (*taʿyīnī*) for all individuals (*ʿaynī*) right up until the Day of

Resurrection, and cursed anyone who fails to perform it. However, its validity is conditional upon there being a congregation and its being overseen and led by a just Imam or someone assigned by him. It is the Imam who leads it when he is present, but during his occultation, it is led by a just jurist who fulfils all the criteria. According to the evidence he is authorized to perform the Imam's duties as a general deputy.

Friday prayer is an absolute obligation, unlike the *ḥajj*, which is conditional upon having the means and being able. It is only its validity that is conditional upon other factors, just as the validity of midday prayer is conditional upon ritual cleanliness both from major and minor impurity. Because it is only Friday prayer's validity that is conditional upon there being a qualified ruler or Imam, during the Imam's occultation, which is for his protection, everyone else is accountable for the sin if Friday prayer is not performed, because of their failure to perform an exceedingly important specifically designated (*taʿyīnī*) obligation upon all individuals (*ʿaynī*).

They all collectively have a duty to rise up and establish an Islamic government, putting the deputy Imam in power, or empowering the hitherto powerless jurisprudent to sentence (*ḥudūd*) and defend Islam's borders. One of the leader's duties is to establish Friday prayers within the area he governs.

People who do not perform Friday prayer under a tyrannical government will be punished for their not establishing an Islamic government under which Friday prayer is established; by not having such a ruler, their prayer is void and not accepted.

Hence, Friday is a festival and a day to congregate, on which people are cleansed, and freed from the wrongs and sins that they have committed throughout the week. Prayers are answered on that day. Thursday night is also important—it is the time to prepare to carry out the responsibilities of the following day, so it is different from other evenings.

However, the Ghadīr Festival is the noblest and best festival, because of the link between the Imam and the nation, the uniting of their hearts in the master-subject relationship (*walāyah*), going on the way of the wayfarers and travelers on the path of devotion, love, self-sacrifice, donation, intellect, and feeling, the spreading of the Lord's light and the holy, transcendent breaths, and the connection between the kingdoms of earth and heaven.

ʿĪd al-Ghadīr is the day of servitude and surrender to the Real, leaving the pharaohism of the commanding self, casting on the noose of submission to servitude to God, confessing and acknowledging

one particular instance of His greatness, putting a foot on the straight path of conviction, and taking a firm step on the path of giving up formalities, [instead] adorning oneself with truth, fact, and pure objectivity, leaving the herd of beasts and joining the rank of humanity.

ʿĪd al-Ghadīr is the right answer to the All-Perfect, All-Holy's Call in the Noble Qurʾan: *O Messenger, deliver...* making the leadership exclusive. It is the heart's acceptance of the Greatest Prophet's words: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master," seeking the shade of his prayer: "O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master," and fleeing his curse: "and be an enemy to whoever is his enemy," welcoming his words "and help whoever helps him" and escaping his words "and forsake whoever forsakes him."

The Ghadīr Festival is a look at the heavenly beauty of the Master of the Faithful who is lifted up by the Great Prophet on the pulpit made out of the camels' saddles under the shade of the gum-acacias in Juḥfah valley in Ghadīr Khumm. It means presentation of the appointed leader to everybody and the descent of the realm of angels (*malakūt*) and power (*jabarūt*) to this corporeal (*mulk*) realm with a cry of: "O enemies of Ali, O opponents of the Household who always annoyed God's Messenger by complaining to him about Ali. Know that Ali's status is such that it is not appropriate to annoy him or complain about him!"

He is the master of authority, the only falcon soaring in the sky of gnosis, and the favored proprietor in the palace of gnosis. He is closer to you than you are to your own selves and has greater authority over you than you have over your own selves. He is your Master, chief, head, and leader, both physically and pursuant to the shariʿa.

The Prophet presented Ali to the people so that they could all see him, just as Zulaykhā presented Joseph to the women in Egypt, to tell them: "O women who criticized me, the incandescent beauty queen and chief's wife, for falling in love with this unknown boy, telling me it would be my ruin to fall in love with my slave and servant!"

Zulaykhā invited the women in Egypt, seated them in a room with two entrances, and gave each of them a citrus fruit and a knife and told them: "Presently Joseph will enter the room, cross it, and exit through the other door. I want each of you to cut a piece of that sweet-smelling citrus fruit in your hand, and offer it to him as a courtesy!"

Zulaykhā had Joseph enter the room through one door, cross the room, and exit through the other door. When the women caught sight of his beauty, which was just a firebrand of the Beauty of the Transcendent Real, they tried cutting their fruit and offering him a piece,

but instead, intoxicated by his beauty, they unwittingly cut their own hands, causing profuse bleeding!

The poet says about this:

گرش ببینِ و دست از ترنج بشناسی روا بود که ملامت کنِ زلیخا را

Only if you see him, and can tell the fruit from your hand
are you allowed to criticize Zulaykhā!

When Joseph passed by the women, Zulaykhā turned to them and asked: "What is wrong with you? Why have you stained your white clothing? Why have you cut your own hands?"

It was only then that the women looked at their hands and their blood-stained clothes and said in unison:

حاشَ لِلّهِ مَا هَذَا بَشَرًا إِنْ هَذَا إِلا مَلَكٌ كَرِيمٌ.

"Far be it from God! This is not a mortal. It is naught but a noble angel!" (12:31).

Zulaykhā said:

فذلكن الذى لمتننى فيه

"This is he over whom you criticised me!" (12:32).

The Prophet also lifted Ali up so that everyone could see him, to let them know that he was the young man whom they criticized, but their grudge against him dating back to Badr and Ḥunayn, and his nobility and great level of bravery, knowledge, gnosis, self-sacrifice, spiritual states, and gravitation towards God would not allow them to submit obediently to him and acknowledge his august splendor. Their old, deep-rooted envy of him now prevented them from making themselves obey him even though he was being elevated by the Seal of the Prophets and Envoys, the Master of Mankind, the intercessor even on behalf of all previous prophets and the witness over them in the courtyards of the resurrection. His very self comprises Islam and faith, and no good deed is accepted without following him, and following his way and tradition. He allocates Heaven and Hell. He is the balance of equity and justice. He is the repository of secrets and treasure trove of knowledge. He it is who has greater authority over every believer than [every believer] has over his own self. He is the bearer of the Qur'an. He is the distinction between right and wrong. He is entrusted with the letter to interpret the Qur'an, just as the Prophet was entrusted with its revelation. He is the standard-bearer of defense to crush the covenant breachers (*nākithīn*), deviators

(*qāsiṭīn*), and through-and-throughs (*māriqīn*).[220] He was martyred in a prayer niche, in God's House, just as he was born in [the Kaʿbah], God's House.

The Ghadīr Festival is the locus of these manifestations, and the appearance and revelation of these truths. That is why God's care dictated that the Ghadīr Hadith should become known all over the world and referred to by everyone and every nation, and Ghadīr Day became the most important occasion, as proof for the followers of the true Imam and leader of the nation. That is why the Infallible Imams devote themselves assiduously to commemoration of this incident and rely on it as evidence against their opponents in disputes, and their great and respected followers, and early Muslim scholars followed by generation after generation copy their example of commemorating it at gatherings, celebrations, and conferences by reciting odes and other pulsating poems to keep the event alive for future generations, no matter how much time passes. The Infallible Imams enjoined their followers to celebrate, rejoice, felicitate each other, bless each other, greet each other, make donations, fast, and treat the day as a festival (*ʿīd*).

On this day, we the Shiʿa, in particular, have a great gathering in the holy shrine of our Master, the Master of the Faithful, in Holy Najaf; the Ghadīr visit is a special visit to the Imam.

Great Shiʿa men from all tribes and from nearby and distant towns gather around his grave and visit him, uttering the words prescribed by the Infallible Imams, including all his attributes of perfection, ranks, and levels; and citing irrefutable proof against his opponents from Scripture and traditions (Sunnah).

In all towns, and even in the villages, Ghadīr Day is a public holiday, and millions of Muslims, both Shiʿa and Sunnis, venerate and celebrate this day, and engage in acts of worship, in enjoinment of what is right and in forbidding what is wrong (*al-umūr al-ḥisbiyyah*) and in acts to achieve God's favor.

The custom of celebrating and treating this day as a festival has immortalized this event, and has embedded the explicit instruction made at the Ghadīr and preserved it for the future generations. Staying awake in worship all night before the Ghadīr, giving to relatives and the poor during the day, making abundant provision for one's dependents, grooming, wearing the best, cleanest clothes, and giving to charities and charitable foundations have contributed to immortalizing this day, and caused people to find out about and investigate the origin of it. The branches of belief then grow in their hearts and they become more and more God-fearing.

How nice it would be if the Iranians who have been influenced by the West to revive ancient national customs in the name of nationalism, and celebrate the Zoroastrian festival, changed their ways. Instead of celebrating Nawrūz, by buying new clothes for themselves and their families, they should celebrate Ghadīr Day! Is it not time for them to give up this innovation, and instead commemorate the incident at the Ghadīr that is the pillar of belief? Having it as a festival, with several days of holiday to visit friends and relatives, changing their old clothes for new, and swapping a pagan veneration of nature for the All-Merciful will stop the Shiᶜa from losing their way and ensure that they prosper. After all, they are known for having good reason for their practices and for thinking carefully before doing anything.

Every year, the Ghadīr Festival links the previous chain of the Shiᶜa school to the next, ensures its survival, and continues the eternal battle against the devil and tyranny.

Now, it is time we mentioned two points:

First of all, this festival is not just for the Shiᶜa, even though they care more about it and have a particular affinity for it. All other Muslims, except those openly hostile (*nawāṣib*) to the Household and the Khārijites, honor this day and celebrate it as an *ᶜīd*. Hence, Masᶜūdī says:

> On Ghadīr Day, the noblest Prophet said about the Master of the Faithful, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master." It was on eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. Ghadīr Khumm is close to a pond known as Kharrār in Juḥfah county:
>
> وولد علی وشیعته یعظمون هذا الیوم.[221]
>
> ᶜAli's offspring and followers attach great importance to this day.

Muhammad Ibn Ṭalḥah Shāfiᶜī says:

> Tirmidhī narrates in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, via his chain from Zayd Ibn Arqam: "God's Messenger said: 'Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master.'" Tirmidhī just cites these words without adding anything further. However, apart from Tirmidhī, some others also mention the day on which and the place where God's Messenger said so. It was when God's Messenger was returning from the Farewell Pilgrimage on the eighteenth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. The place was between Mecca and Medina and was called Khumm. And the Master of the Faithful himself refers to it in his above-cited poetry. And that day became a festival and celebration for people to gather because it was the time when God's Messenger

conferred this lofty position upon Ali, honoring him and no one else with it.[222]

Ibn Khallikān says in a biographical note on al-Mustaʿlī, the son of al-Mustanṣir Billāh:

بويع في عيد غدير خم وهو الثامن عشر من ذي الحجة سنة سبع وثمانين واربعمائة[223]

"Allegiance was pledged to him on the Festival of Ghadīr Khumm, the eighteenth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, in the year 487 AH."

ʿAllāmah ʿAmīnī says: "Ibn Khallikān also relates in the biographical note on al-Mustanṣir Billāh ʿUbaydī: 'He passed away on a Wednesday night, twelve nights before the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 487 Anno Hejirae.'"

Ibn Khallikān then says:

That night is the night before the Ghadīr Festival, i.e. the night before the eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, namely Ghadīr Khumm; I have heard a great many people ask what the occasion was when it came to this night in Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

This location is between Mecca and Medina, and Ghadīr is the name of a pond that was said to be surrounded with reed-beds. When the noblest Prophet was returning from Mecca, may God ennoble it, in the year of the Farewell Pilgrimage, and reached that place, he made Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib his brother and said:

عَلِيٌّ مِنِّي كَهَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى. اللَّهُمَّ والِ مَنْ والاه، وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاه، وَانْصُرْ مَنْ نَصَرَه، وَاخْذُلْ مَنْ خَذَلَه

"Ali is to me as Aaron was to Moses. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Assist whoever assists him and forsake whoever forsakes him."

The Shiʿa have a great attachment to this day.

Ḥāzimī says: "Ghadīr Khumm is in a valley between Mecca and Medina, at Juḥfah, where there is a pond (*ghadīr*) where the Prophet delivered a sermon. This valley is characterized by great harshness and severity of heat...." (Ibn Khallikān).

After considering the importance of the Night before Ghadīr for the Shiʿa, in *Thimār al-Qulūb*, Thaʿlabī says:

It was the night before God's Messenger delivered a sermon on the camels' saddles at Ghadīr Khumm, in which sermon he said:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه اللّٰهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ، وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ وَانْصُرْ مَنْ نَصَرَهُ وَاخْذُلْ مَنْ خَذَلَهُ

"Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Assist whoever assists him and forsake whoever forsakes him."

The Shi'a attach great importance to that night, and stay awake [all night] standing [in prayer].

What also proves that it is a festival is the two Shaykhs, the mothers of the believers (the Prophet's wives), and the other companions' having felicitated the Master of the Faithful by God's Messenger's command. Everybody knows that felicitation is exclusive to festivals and celebrations.

Two: This festival has a long history, as evidenced by chronicles that show that it dates back to the time of the Prophet, beginning with the year 10 AH, when the Farewell Pilgrimage took place. It was when God's Messenger made that revelation in those elaborate proceedings to announce his successor, making clear the stability of both his religious and political government and rule and showing how proud his religion was and clear its path was, both to those gathered and the entire world, by saying during the course of his lengthy sermon: "Those present should tell those absent..." i.e. when they arrived back home. Hence, it was a great celebration and universally witnessed incident that every adherent of Islam should be happy about and rejoice over—the building of the strong foundation of the Muslim Imamate and Caliphate. It ensured the continuity of the shari'a and the lights of its laws, making it impossible for corrupt opinions and dull whims to deviate it from its straight path. It enabled longing souls and yearning spirits to reach their spiritual goals of moving in the light of that path until the Day of Resurrection, and of turning potential spiritual perfection into actual spiritual perfection.

So, what day can be greater or nobler than Ghadīr Day, when the religion was perfected, and the favor was completed, the clear road came into sight, and clinging to the Real's Indissoluble Bond is great? Hence it is the greatest festival referred to in the Holy Qur'an, via Gabriel, the trustworthy bearer of divine revelation, and by God's Messenger's tongue, guidance, oratory, command, and organization, and he built its pillars solidly on this strong foundation.

Although nowadays, monarchs wrongly, mistakenly, and thoughtlessly celebrate their coronations as public holidays, with

mass outpourings of joy and frivolity at festivities, decorations in the streets and all around town, speeches, parades, free food and sweets, and poetry recitals, and even though it has become customary among most nations, it is time for them to stop. It would be better for them to give up their customs, and all celebrate Ghadīr Day instead. Ghadīr Day is the day of just and equitable government. It is the day of the rightful Imamate and God's greatest authority. [Monarchs] should invite their nations to this way and path, and what an excellent path the straight one is.

To celebrate and treat as a festival that day on which the appointment was announced by God's Messenger who

لَا يَنطِقُ عَنِ الْهَوَىٰ إِنْ هُوَ إِلَّا وَحْيٌ يُوحَىٰ

speaks not on a whim; it is naught but inspiration that is inspired (53:3–4), they should honor and revere that day in every sense of the word, because it is a religious and divine festival, and not be remiss over performing extra acts of worship to gain God's favor, such as fasting, praying, supplicating, visiting, and felicitating their Muslim brothers, shaking hands, right hand in hand, and saying:

الْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِي جَعَلَنَا مِنَ الْمُتَمَسِّكِينَ بِوَلَايَةِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْأَئِمَّةِ عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَامُ

"Praise be to God Who made us of those who cling to the Guardianship of the Master of the Faithful and the Imams," and should also make the best and fullest charitable donations, such as rings, clothing, perfume, and food to the believing brothers, especially the poor, blood relations, scholars, and students of religious studies who put what they have learned into practice, and wayfarers on God's path—revolutionaries and those who love the Master of the Faithful.

That is why after finishing his sermon, God's Messenger ordered that a tent be put up for the Master of the Faithful, and commanded the believers to come together and to congratulate [Imam Ali] over the completion of the favor and the perfection of the religion, the fruit of linking Guardianship to Prophethood, and giving the nation fresh new life.

[The Prophet] commanded the great men of Quraysh and the chiefs of and luminaries among the Migrants and Supporters to congratulate the Master of the Faithful and greet him as the Master of the Faithful and submit to him as Master and Commander. Similarly, he commanded the two Shaykhs, Abū Bakr and Omar, and his [the Prophet's] wives to go to the Master of the Faithful, congratulate him, and greet him as Imam and ruler—to congratulate him for that great prestige of occupying the position of authority, issuing commands

and prohibitions pertaining to God's religion, and regulating Muslim affairs in his capacity as God's Messenger's successor.

ᶜAllāmah Amīnī says:

In the book of *al-Walāyah* Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī cites a hadith via his chain from Zayd Ibn Arqam, part of which was quoted above. The end of it says that the Great Prophet said:

مَعَاشِرَ النَّاسِ، قُولُوا: أَعْطَيْنَاكَ عَلَى ذَلِكَ عَهْداً عَنْ أَنْفُسِنَا وَمِيثَاقاً بِأَلْسِنَتِنَا وَصَفْقَةً بِأَيْدِينَا، نُؤَدِّيهِ إِلَى أَوْلَادِنَا وَأَهَالِينَا، لَا نَبْتَغِي بِذَلِكَ بَدَلًا وَأَنْتَ شَهِيدٌ عَلَيْنَا وَكَفَى بِاللهِ شَهِيداً. قُولُوا مَا قُلْتُ لَكُمْ وَسَلِّمُوا عَلَى عَلِيٍّ بِإِمْرَةِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وقولوا: الْحَمْدُ لِلهِ الَّذِي هَدَانَا لِهَذَا وَمَا كُنَّا لِنَهْتَدِيَ لَوْلَا أَنْ هَدَانَا اللهُ، فَإِنَّ اللهَ يَعْلَمُ كُلَّ صَوْتٍ وَخَاتِنَةَ كُلِّ نَفْسٍ. فَمَنْ نَكَثَ فَإِنَّمَا يَنْكُثُ عَلَى نَفْسِهِ وَمَنْ أَوْفَى بِمَا عَاهَدَ عَلَيْهُ اللهَ فَسَيُؤْتِيهِ أَجْراً عَظِيماً. قُولُوا مَا يُرْضِي اللهَ عَنْكُمْ فَإِنْ تَكْفُرُوا فَإِنَّ اللهَ غَنِيٌّ عَنْكُمْ.

O ye people! Say: "We have made a covenant with you from ourselves, a pact with our tongues, and shaken hands. We will pass it on to our children and families. We do not want any substitute. You are our Witness and God suffices us as a Witness!"

Say what I have told you, greet Ali as the Master of the Faithful, and say: *Praise be to Him Who has guided us to this. We would not have been guided if God had not guided us* (7:43).

For God knows every voice and affair, and the perfidy of every soul. *So whoever breaks his oath, does so only to his own detriment, while whoever keeps his covenant with God, on him will He bestow immense reward* (48:10).

Say whatever makes God pleased with you, but even *if you are thankless, God has no need for any of you* (39:7)!

[Zayd Ibn Arqam says:]

At that, the people all hastened to say: "We have heard, and obey with our hearts God's and His Prophet's command."

The first to shake hands with the Prophet were Abū Bakr, Omar, Othman, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr, then the rest of the Migrants and Supporters, and then everyone else until he prayed noon and afternoon prayers

(*ẓuhrayn*) together. The handshakes and pledges of allegiance by the people carried on until he prayed sunset and evening prayers (*ʿishāʾayn*) together. The pledges of allegiance and handshakes carried on through a third of the night.

Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ṭabarī, known as Khalīlī, in the book *al-Manāqib Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib* (*The Virtues of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib*) (Cairo: 411 AH), relates from his Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Abī Bakr Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān:

The people then vied with each other to pledge allegiance to Ali, and said:

سَمِعْنَا وَأَطَعْنَا لِمَا أَمَرَتَا اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ بِقُلُوبِنَا وَأَنْفُسِنَا وَأَلْسِنَتِنَا وَجَمِيعِ جَوَارِحِنَا ثُمَّ انْكَبُّوا عَلَى رَسُولِ اللهِ وَعَلِيٍّ يُبَايِعُونَهُمْ.

"We have heard and obey with our hearts, souls, and tongues, and all our body parts, what God and His Messenger have commanded." They then threw themselves on God's Messenger and Ali with their hands [outstretched].

The first to shake hands with God's Messenger were Abū Bakr, Omar, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr, and then the rest of the Migrants and people according to their classes and the level of their statuses until noon and afternoon prayers were prayed together, and [then] sunset and evening prayers together. They carried on pledging allegiance and shaking hands through a third of the night. After each wave pledged allegiance, God's Messenger would say:

الْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِي فَضَّلَنَا عَلَى جَمِيعِ الْعَالَمِينَ

"Praise be to God Who made us superior to all worlds."

[Having their] hands shaken in [a pledge of allegiance] has become a custom and formality exploited by those who have no right to it.

The book *al-Nashr wa al-Ṭayy* says:

The people then hastened [to say]:

نعم نعم سمعنا واطعنا امر الله ورسوله، آمنا به بقلوبنا

"Yes, yes, we have heard and obey God's and His Messenger's command. We believe in it with our hearts," and pressed upon God's Messenger and Ali with their hands [outstretched], until noon and afternoon prayers were prayed together, the rest of that day, until sunset and the evening prayers (*al-ʿishāʾayn*) were prayed together. Whenever a group came God's Messenger would say:

الْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِی فَضَّلَنَا عَلَی جَمِیعِ الْعَالَمِین

"Praise be to God Who made us superior to all other worlds."

When referring to the Ghadīr Hadith, Mawlawī Waliyyullāh Lucknowī, in the book *Mir'āt al-Mu'minīn*, mentions:

After that, Omar then met [Ali] and said to him:

هَنِیئاً یَا ابْنَ أَبِی طَالِبٍ أَصْبَحْتَ وَأَمْسَیْتَ مَوْلَی کُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَة

"Bravo, son of Abū Ṭālib! You have become, morning and mid-afternoon, the Master of all believers, male and female!"

Every companion who met the Master of the Faithful would congratulate him.

The historian Ibn Khāvand Shāh (d. 903 AH) says in *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā'*, volume 1, section two, page 173, after citing the Ghadīr Hadith:

Later on, God's Messenger sat in a tent all to himself, commanded the Master of the Faithful to sit in another tent, and commanded everyone to congratulate Ali in his tent. When everyone had finished congratulating him, the Prophet directed his wives (the mothers of the believers) to go to [Ali] and congratulate him, and they did so. One of the companions who congratulated him was Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who said:

هَنِیئاً لَکَ یَا ابْنَ أَبِی طَالِبٍ أَصْبَحْتَ وَأَمْسَیْتَ مَوْلَی کُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَة

"Bravo, son of Abū Ṭālib! You have become, morning and mid-afternoon, my Master as well as the Master of all male and female believers!"[224]

The historian Ghiyāth al-Dīn (d. 942 AH) says in *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 1, part 3, p. 144:

Then the Master of the Faithful sat down, by the Prophet's command, in a tent all to himself, people visiting him and congratulating him, including Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb—he said:

بخ بخ یا ابن ابی طالب اصبحت مولای ومولی کل مؤمن ومؤمنة[225]

"Bravo, bravo, son of Abū Ṭālib! You have become my Master and the Master of every male and female believer!"

The hadith on the congratulations given by the two Shaykhs, Abū Bakr and Omar, is related and recorded in books by leading

Sunni traditionists, exegetes, and historians too numerous to be scoffed at, ranging from those who narrate it as a given, without any chain of narration, and those who relate it via authentic chains and reliable narrators back to various companions such as Ibn ʿAbbās, Abū Hurayrah, Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib, and Zayd Ibn Arqam. The late ʿAllāmah Amīnī cites those narrations from sixty well-known, reliable books written by great and famous Sunni scholars in his book, *al-Ghadīr*.[226] We now list just some of them.

1. Abū Isḥāq Thaʿlabī relates in *al-Kashf wa al-Bayān* via his chain from Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib that he said:

> When we stopped with God's Messenger on the Farewell Pilgrimage at Ghadīr Khumm, God's Messenger called out: "Congregational prayer." [The ground] under two trees was swept for the Prophet. He then took Ali's hand and asked:
>
> "Do I not have greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves?" They replied: "Yes." He said: "This is the Master of whoever's Master I am! O God! Be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy!"
>
> [He said:] Omar then met [Ali] and said:
>
> هَنِيئاً لَكَ يا بنَ ابي طالب اصْبَحْتَ وامْسَيْتَ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ ومُؤْمِنَة
>
> "Bravo, son of Abū Ṭālib! You have become, morning and mid-afternoon, the Master of every male and female believer!"

2. Shaykh al-Islam Ḥamwīnī relates in *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*, via his chain from Shahr Ibn Ḥawshab, quoting Abū Hurayrah:

> God will record sixty years of fasting for whoever fasts on the eighteenth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. That is the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, when God's Messenger took Ali's hand and said:
>
> من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه، اللّٰهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ، وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ وَانْصُرْ مَنْ نَصَرَهُ
>
> "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy, and assist whoever assists him."
>
> Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb then said to Ali:
>
> بَخٍ بَخٍ يا بنَ ابي طالب اصْبَحْتَ مَوْلاي وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُسْلِم.[227]

"Bravo, bravo, son of Abū Ṭālib! You have become my Master and the Master of every Muslim."

3. Khaṭīb Khārazmī relates via his chain from Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib that he said: "We were returning from *ḥajj* with God's Messenger." He then relates the same hadith that we narrated from Thaʿlabī in *al-Kashf wa al-Bayān*. He also says at the end:

> Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb then met Ali and said:
>
> هَنِيئاً لَكَ يَا ابْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ أَصْبَحْتَ وَأَمْسَيْتَ مولاي ومَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ
>
> "Bravo, son of Abū Ṭālib! You have become, morning and mid-afternoon, my Master and the Master of every male and female believer!"

He relates via his other chain from Abū Hurayrah the same narration as Ḥamwīnī does in *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*, and also says at the end:

قال له عمر بن الخطاب: بَخٍ بَخٍ يَا ابْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُسْلِمٍ.[228]

"Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb then told him: 'Bravo, bravo, son of Abū Ṭālib! You have become my Master and the Master of every Muslim.'"

4. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal narrates in his *Musnad* via his chain from ʿAdī Ibn Thābit, from Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib [that] he said:

> We were traveling with God's Messenger and we stopped at Ghadīr Khumm. Thereafter, "Congregational prayer!" was announced and the ground under two trees was swept for God's Messenger. He then [led] the noon prayer, and then took Ali's hand and asked: "Do you not know that I have greater authority over every believer than he has over his own self?" They replied: "Yes." He then took Ali's hand [again] and said:
>
> من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه. اللَّهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ، وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ وَانْصُرْ مَنْ نَصَرَهُ
>
> "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy!"
>
> Shortly afterward Omar met Ali and said: "Bravo, son of Abū Ṭālib! You have become, morning and mid-afternoon, the Master of every male and female believer!"'[229]

5. Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr Khaṭīb Baghdādī narrates from Ḥabshūn Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ayyūb,[230] via his chain from Shahr Ibn Ḥawshab, from Abū Hurayrah, that he said:

Sixty months of fasting are recorded for whoever fasts on the eighteenth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, which is the Day of Ghadīr Khumm when the Prophet took Ali's hand and asked: "Do I not have the greatest authority over the believers?" [The people] said: "Yes, God's Messenger!" [The Prophet] said: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master."

After that Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said: "Well-done, well done, son of Abū Ṭālib, you have become my Master and the Master of every Muslim."

God then revealed: *This day have I perfected your religion for you...* (5:3) Sixty months of fasting will be recorded for whoever fasts on the twenty-seventh day of Rajab, which is the first day on which Gabriel came down to Muhammad; this hadith is known as Ḥabshūn's Narration.[231]

6. Ḥāfiẓ Ibn ʿAsākir Dimashqī narrates via two chains from Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib: "We went on *ḥajj* with God's Messenger...."

After explaining the revelation of the verse, and the sermon at Ghadīr Khumm, he says in the narration:

Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said:

هَنيئاً لَكَ يا بنَ ابي طالب! أصْبَحْتَ وأمْسَيْتَ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِن.

"Bravo, son of Abū Ṭālib! You have become, morning and mid-afternoon, the Master of every believer!" Another narration says: "Omar said to him: 'Bravo, Ali! You have become my Master and the Master of every believer!'"[232]

He also narrates via two other chains from Abū Hurayrah:
i) As above, from *Tārīkh Baghdād*—Ḥabshūn's Narration[233]—and
ii) The hadith he narrates from Abū Bakr Ibn Marzaqī, at the end of which Omar says:

بَخٍ بَخٍ يا بنَ ابي طالب! أصْبَحْتَ مَوْلايَ ومولى كُلِّ مُسْلِم.

"Well done, well done, son of Abū Ṭālib! You have become my Master and the Master of every Muslim."[234]

Similarly, he refers to what Omar said while explaining Shāfiʿī's opinion. He says that *walāʾ* means help [pursuant to] Islam (*walāʾ al-Islām*). Ibn ʿAsākir narrates via his chain from Rabīʿ Ibn Sulaymān that he said:

I heard Shāfiʿī say that what the Prophet said about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib—"Whoever's *Mawlā* I am, so too is Ali his *Mawlā*"—means help pursuant to Islam, as per the Mighty and Sublime God's words:

ذَٰلِكَ بِأَنَّ اللَّهَ مَوْلَى الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَأَنَّ الْكَافِرِينَ لَا مَوْلَىٰ لَهُمْ.

that is because God is the Helper (Mawlā) *of those who believe, and because the unbelievers shall have no helper* (Mawlā) *for them* (47:11).

What Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb said to Ali:

أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ

means: "You have become every believer's helper."[235]

Our detailed explanation of the meaning of *walā'* shines like the sun and proves that Shāfiʿī's interpretation is wrong. *Walā'* to every believer means being Master, Imam, and leader, concomitant with closeness, which in turn is concomitant with its original, true meaning:

الْوَلَاءُ حُصُولُ الشَّيْئَيْنِ فَزَائِداً حُصُولًا لَيْسَ بَيْنَهُمَا مَا لَيْسَ مِنْهُمَا.

"*Walā'* means two things being such that nothing else comes between them." In any event we are only quoting Shāfiʿī because of his having relied on, as evidence, the hadith about Omar congratulating Ali.

7. Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Qāsim Ḥaskānī relates six narrations in *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, under the heading "Narrations on the Revelation of the blessed verse":

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا.

This day have I perfected for you your religion, and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion (5:3)."

Omar's congratulations appear in two of them:

One: From [Ḥāfiẓ Ḥaskānī's] father, Ḥākim, from Abū Ḥafṣ Shāhīn, via his chain from Abū Hurayrah, concerning the reward for fasting on Ghadīr Day. It says at the end that Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said:

بَخٍ بَخٍ يَا ابْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ.[236]

Two: From Abū Bakr Yazdī, via his chain from Abū Hurayrah. It is also about the reward for fasting on Ghadīr Day. After God's Messenger's sermon and his announcement of the [people's] master—"Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master"—Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said:

طُوبَى لَكَ طُوبَى لَكَ أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ بَخٍ بَخٍ يَا ابْنَ أَبِي.

"Well done, well done, son of Abū Ṭālib. You have become my Master and the Master of every believer." And God revealed:

اليوم اكملت لكم دينكم

This day have I perfected for you your religion...[237]

8. Fakhr Rāzī says after the verse

يا ايها الرسول بلغ ما انزل اليك من ربك

O Messenger, deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord:

Explanation ten: This verse was revealed about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. When this verse was revealed, God's Messenger took Ali's hand and said:

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ، اللّٰهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ، وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ

"Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Guardian, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy."

Omar then met [Ali] and said:

هَنِيئًا لَكَ يَا ابْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ

"Bravo, son of Abū Ṭālib! You have become my Master and the Master of every male and female believer."

This is what Ibn ʿAbbās, Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib, and Muhammad Ibn Ali say.[238]

9. Shahristānī says in *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*:

...and like what happened with the completion of Islam, and the affair being put in order, when God's words

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ

O Messenger, deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not then you have not delivered His message (5:67) were revealed.

Then, when God's Messenger reached Ghadīr Khumm, he gave the commandment for many-branched trees to be piled up, so they were piled up, and [people] announced: "Congregational prayer." Then, he said while [standing] on the saddles:

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ، اللّٰهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ، وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ وَانْصُرْ مَنْ نَصَرَهُ وَاخْذُلْ مَنْ خَذَلَهُ وَأَدِرِ الْحَقَّ مَعَهُ حَيْثُ دَارَ.

"Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Assist whoever assists him and forsake whoever forsakes him.

Steer the truth with him wherever he turns. Lo! Have I delivered? [Three times]."

The Shi'a claim that this appointment is explicit. We shall investigate to whom the Prophet was *Mawlā*, and in what sense, and apply it to Ali. The companions understood the appointment as *Mawlā* to mean what we have understood it to mean, so much so that when Omar met Ali, he said:

طُوبَى لَكَ يَا عَلِيُّ! أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ[239]

"Blessed be you, Ali! You have become the Master of every male and female believer!"

10. Ibn Ḥajar Haytamī (d. 973 AH) says after explaining the hadith "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master," which was the answer the Prophet gave to the rhetorical question he had previously put to Buraydah:

يَا بُرَيْدَةُ أَلَسْتُ أَوْلَى بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ؟ قُلْتُ: بَلَى يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ!

"Buraydah! Am I not nearer to (*awlā bi*) the believers than they are to their own selves?"[240]

If we suppose that *mawlā* means *awlā*. However, we do not concede that it means worthiest of (*awlā bi*) the Imamate, but rather the original meaning of nearest (*awlā*) through following and being close to God's Messenger, as in Almighty [God's] words *Most surely, the nearest of people to Abraham are those who followed him...* (3:68). There is no incontrovertible or even likely evidence to refute this possible explanation. In fact it is what Omar and Abū Bakr understood.

And the best evidence in support of this possible explanation is Omar's and Abū Bakr's understanding, because when they heard it, they said to [Ali]:

أَمْسَيْتَ يَا ابْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ

You, son of Abū Ṭālib, have become the nearest to every believer, male and female.

Dāraquṭnī cites [this hadith].[241]

The only reason for our quoting Shahristānī and Ibn Ḥajar Haytamī, was to rely on, as evidence, the two Shaykhs' having congratulated the Master of the Faithful. We have no interest in their personal interpretation of the word *walāyah* or in their assumption that Abū Bakr and Omar interpreted it the same way. This is because in *Knowing the Imams* volumes 5 and 7, we proved incontrovertibly that

walāyah only has one meaning, namely the removal of any impediment between two things, such that nothing that is not one of them comes between them. Provisional to this meaning is closeness, the Imamate, and God's being Master, when the *walāyah* is between man and his Creator. All the companions, without exception, understood it to mean this, because they were Arabs, and knew the literal meaning of the word.

Omar and Abū Bakr also understood it to mean this. That is why they greeted and congratulated Ali, and pledged allegiance to him. However, later on, they turned away and deviated from acting in accordance with this interpretation, and, through various tricks, usurped the Caliphate from Ali and the rest of the Household, promoting themselves above them.

The Shi'a say: The two Shaykhs were treacherous, and deliberately took the Caliphate away from God's Messenger's Household. So how can their interpretation be relied on as evidence! Is their reasoning not simply *petitio principii*? No Sunni can adduce those two Shaykhs' interpretation as evidence because it means that their subsequent conduct was transgression!

In *Sirr al-ʿĀlamīn*, Ghazālī exposes this truth and candidly admits:

> Omar responded to the *walāyah* hadith "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master" by accepting the Master of the Faithful's appointment as Imam and Master and saying:
>
> بَخٍ بَخٍ لَكَ يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ لَقَدْ أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ
>
> "Well done, well done, O Abū al-Hasan, you have become my Master and the Master of every male and female believer."
>
> So, these words are acceptance of and contentment with Ali's appointment as Master. However, because of love of power and a desire to seize the Caliphate, build empires, and hoist flags, they reneged on their pact, selling the reward of the Hereafter for the paltry price of this passing world—what a bad transaction that was!
>
> Before God's Messenger passed away, he said: "Fetch me an ink-well and paper, so that I can solve the problem of leadership for you, and tell you who deserves it after I am gone."
>
> Omar said: "Leave this man alone, because he is talking nonsense!" [Someone] said: "He is delirious because the pain has got the better of him!"[242]

The Shiʿa have analyzed and scrutinized the companions' actions one by one, instead of just blindly following them and assuming them to be pious, just because they were companions or so-called pious early Muslims (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*)! The Shiʿa put them under a microscope and examine whether these companions' deeds matched up to their words. If not, they reject them. The Shiʿa approach with skepticism books written by the Sunnis about the virtues of the Shaykhs and anyone else who was in their orbit and worked for them. They do not accept them, and how can they? History is full of fabricated narrations about the Shaykhs', Muʿāwiyah's, Othman's, and their ilk's virtues, and the compilers of the "authentic" hadith collections, collections that quote the chains of narration, and all the other books, were the sultans' preachers, and they wrote to suit the rulers' taste, beliefs, and *madhhabs*; so they cannot be taken seriously, let alone believed. Whenever we do refer to what their books say about the Household's virtues, it is never because of these books' inherent evidentiary value. The art of debating involves forcing the opponent to concede what his own evidence shows to be incontrovertible. In short, the Shiʿa school is the school of truth and the study of truths, and the rejection of whatever is false and wrong.

It is appropriate for us at this juncture to tell the story of the Sunni jurisprudent from the Mustanṣiriyyah School who became Shiʿa at the hands of the great and highly respected jurisprudent, Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, may God bless his soul, to show the manner in which Shiʿism and its scholars enter into a discussion, and to let it be known that the whole Sunni world should acknowledge the truth and stop following usurper rulers, and instead shine through the Household's teaching, because as the Arabs say: "There is no village beyond Abadan!"[243]

Sayyid Ali Ibn Ṭāwūs says in *Kashf al-Maḥajjah li Thamarat al-Maḥajjah*, section 92:

> Know this, my son, that I was in the holy Shrine of our two Masters, Imam Mūsā Ibn Jaʿfar and Imam Muhammad Taqī, when a Sunni jurisprudent from the Mustanṣiriyyah School came to the Shrine. He would come and visit me before that day. When I thought that he was ready to challenge his *madhhab*, I said: "O So-and-So! What would you do if you lost your horse? Would you seek my help to get it back? If I lost my horse, should I seek your help to get it back? Would that not be good or necessary?" He replied: "Of course it would."
>
> I asked: "Now, either you've lost your way or I've lost mine, and it would be in both our interests for us to be fair and determine which of us has lost his way, and then steer him back!" He agreed by saying: "All right!"

I said:

> As evidence, I will not rely on what my fellow Shi'a relate, because they are under suspicion by you, and you will not rely on what your fellow [Sunnis] relate about your religion, because they are under suspicion by me or according to my belief. However, we shall rely on the Qur'an, or on what is unanimously accepted by your friends and mine, or on what my people have related to you, or what your people have related to me!"

He replied: "That's fair!"

So, I asked him: "What do you say about what Bukhārī and Muslim have narrated in their authentic collections?" He replied: "Indubitably true!"

I said:

> Do you know that Muslim, in his authentic collection, has related that Zayd Ibn Arqam said [paraphrasing]:
>
> > The Prophet delivered a sermon to us at Khumm, saying:
> >
> > أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنِّي بَشَرٌ يُوشِكُ أَنْ أُدْعَى فَأُجِيبَ وَإِنِّي مُخَلِّفٌ فِيكُمُ الثَّقَلَيْنِ: كِتَابَ اللهِ وَعِتْرَتِي أَهْلَ بَيْتِي، أُذَكِّرُكُمُ اللهَ فِي أَهْلِ بَيْتِي أُذَكِّرُكُمُ اللهَ فِي أَهْلِ بَيْتِي!
> >
> > "O people, I am a human being. I am close to being called and I will have to answer! I am leaving among you two weighty things: God's Book and my Household. I remind you of God concerning my Household! I remind you of God concerning my Household!"

He replied: "This is authentic!"

Then I asked him:

> Do you know that Muslim narrates in his authentic collection via a chain from Ayishe that she related that when the verse
>
> إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا.
>
> *God only desires to keep uncleanness from you, O Household, and to cleanse you thoroughly* (33:33) was revealed, God's Messenger gathered together Ali, Fāṭimah, Hasan, and Husayn and said: "These are my Household."

He replied: "Yes! This is authentic!"

I asked him:

> Do you know that Bukhārī and Muslim relate in their authentic collections that [after the death of the Prophet], the Supporters gathered together under Banū Sāʿidah's pergola (*saqīfah*) to pledge allegiance to Saʿd Ibn ʿUbaydah, but did not send for Omar, Abū Bakr, or any of the Migrants? Eventually, when [news] of their gathering reached Abū Bakr, Omar, and Abū ʿUbaydah, they went along, and Abū Bakr told them: "I have chosen for you one of these two men!" i.e. Omar or Abū ʿUbaydah. Omar said: "I will not stand before you!" Omar and whichever of the Supporters then pledged allegiance to him, but Ali and the Hāshimites refrained from pledging allegiance for six months.
> According to what Ḥamīdī has pieced together from their authentic collections, Bukhārī and Muslim say that as long as Fāṭimah was still alive, Ali was respected by everyone (*kān li ʿAlī wajh bayn al-nās*), but as soon as Fāṭimah passed away, six months after the Prophet, people lost respect for Ali (*inṣarafat wujūh al-nas ʿan ʿAlī*). Then, when Ali saw people's loss of respect for him, he went out to make peace with Abū Bakr."

He said: "This is authentic."

I asked:

> What do you have to say about a pledge of allegiance not attended by God's Messenger's Household who he had said were, along with God's Book, his legacy after his death, those about whom he had said: "I remind you of God concerning my Household," and about whom he had said that the Purification Verse was revealed? They did not delay slightly, in which case it could have been said they were busy. On the contrary, their delay of six months was indubitably a criticism of Abū Bakr's Caliphate. If a person delays out of anger, his anger subsides, or if through a misconception, the misconception is cleared up without such a delay!
>
> According to Bukhārī's and Muslim's narration, Ali did not pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr until Fāṭimah passed away and he saw that people had lost respect for him. It was then that [Ali] went out to make peace. This portrayal proves that he did not willingly pledge allegiance.
>
> And Bukhārī and Muslim also relate in this narration that none of the Hāshimites pledged allegiance until Ali had pledged allegiance.

He said: "I do not dare criticize anything that the early Muslims (*salaf*) or Companions did."

I said:

> But this Qur'an bears witness that within the Prophet's lifetime, when he still brought hope and fear, and revelation of their secrets was still coming to him, in times of fear, security, and health, and preferring wealth to him, they did what was undeniably criticized. If they could criticize him within his own lifetime, when he still brought hope and fear, they would be even more likely to disobey him after his death now that he brought no more hope or fear, and received no more revelation.

He asked: "Where in the Qur'an?"

I replied:

> Honorable and Exalted [God] tells of their disobedience when afraid:
>
> وَيَوْمَ حُنَيْنٍ إِذْ أَعْجَبَتْكُمْ كَثْرَتُكُمْ فَلَمْ تُغْنِ عَنكُمْ شَيْئًا وَضَاقَتْ عَلَيْكُمُ الْأَرْضُ بِمَا رَحُبَتْ ثُمَّ وَلَّيْتُم مُّدْبِرِينَ
>
> *...and on the day of Hunayn, when your great numbers made you vain, but they availed you naught and the earth, vast as it is, was straitened for you; then you turned back in flight* (9:25).
>
> Historians say that only eight souls remained with the Prophet: Ali, ʿAbbās, Faḍl Ibn ʿAbbās, Ḥārith Ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭālib's sons Rabīʿah and Abū Sufyān, Usāmah Ibn Zayd, ʿUbaydah ibn Umm Ayman, and, it is narrated, Ayman ibn Umm Ayman. God says about [the companions'] disobedience, even when secure:
>
> وَإِذَا رَأَوْا تِجَارَةً أَوْ لَهْوًا انفَضُّوا إِلَيْهَا وَتَرَكُوكَ قَائِمًا قُلْ مَا عِندَ اللَّهِ خَيْرٌ مِّنَ اللَّهْوِ وَمِنَ التِّجَارَةِ وَاللَّهُ خَيْرُ الرَّازِقِينَ
>
> *But when they see some merchandise or amusement they break away to it, and leave you standing. Say, "What God has is better than any amusement or merchandise, and God is the Best of Providers"* (62:11).
>
> Many historians say that the Prophet was delivering a Friday sermon when the people heard that decorated camels belonging to one of the companions were arriving. The people left the Prophet standing and rushed to see them. There was nothing about the camels that warranted breaking away, so what do you think about a Caliphate that they hoped to benefit from and take charge of?
>
> God says about their being bad friends to the Prophet:

وَلَوْ كُنْتَ فَظًّا غَلِيظَ الْقَلْبِ لَانْفَضُّوا مِنْ حَوْلِكَ فَاعْفُ عَنْهُمْ وَاسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ وَشَاوِرْهُمْ فِي الْأَمْرِ

...and had you been rough, hard hearted, they would certainly have dispersed from around you; pardon them therefore and ask pardon for them, and take counsel with them in the affair (3:159).

And if they had had an excuse for being bad friends, God would not have said: *pardon them therefore and ask pardon for them.* You already know from Bukhārī's and Muslim's authentic collections that they disputed with the Prophet over the booty taken at Hawāzin, when he gave larger shares to others (*al-muʾallafat qulūbuhum*) as an incentive to embrace Islam.[244]

They challenged the Prophet when he pardoned the Meccans.
They challenged the Prophet when he wanted to change the position of the Kaʿbah. He only wanted to put it back as it was in Abraham's time, but for fear of their challenging him, he gave up.

They challenged the Prophet when he was giving a sermon clearing Ṣafwān Ibn Muʿaṭṭil, when he accused Ayishe. He could not finish his sermon.

I asked: "Do you know that all this is in Bukhārī's and Muslim's authentic collections?" He replied: "This is correct!"

I said:

God says about their preferring slight worldly gain to him:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِذَا نَاجَيْتُمُ الرَّسُولَ فَقَدِّمُوا بَيْنَ يَدَيْ نَجْوَاكُمْ صَدَقَةً

O you who believe, when you consult the Messenger, offer something in charity before your consultation (58:12).

However, you know that they refrained from consulting the Prophet to avoid having to give away a loaf of bread, or even less than that, as charity. But Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib made a charitable donation of ten dirhams for ten times he consulted the Prophet. Then this verse was abrogated—but only after disgracing and exposing them until the Day of Judgement—by God's words:

أَأَشْفَقْتُمْ أَنْ تُقَدِّمُوا بَيْنَ يَدَيْ نَجْوَاكُمْ صَدَقَاتٍ فَإِذْ لَمْ تَفْعَلُوا وَتَابَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْكُمْ

Do you fear that you will not (be able to) give in charity before your consultation? So when you do not do it and God has forgiven you (58:13).

Now, when you come before God and His Messenger, on the Day of Resurrection, and [God and His Messenger] ask you: "How

could you follow someone you know to have acted so appallingly?" Then, what excuse for following them will you have left before God and His Messenger?

The jurisprudent from the Mustanṣiriyyah School was astonished and deeply perplexed!

Then, I asked him:

Do you not know that in Bukhārī's and Muslim's authentic collections it is narrated via chains from Jābir Ibn Samurah and others that the Prophet said in many hadiths:

لَا يَزَالُ هَذَا الدِّينُ عَزِيزاً مَاوَلِيَهُمُ اثْنَا عَشَرَ خَلِيفَةً كُلُّهُمْ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ.

"This religion will remain strong so long as twelve Caliphs, who are all from Quraysh, govern them." Another [prophetic] hadith in the two authentic collections says: "The people's affair will remain accomplished as long as twelve Caliphs, all from Quraysh, govern them." There are many similar statements that all refer to the number twelve.

Apart from the Shiᶜa, do you know any other sect of Islam that believes in this number? So, if these narrations are authentic, as you yourself concede by stipulating that everything narrated by Bukhārī and Muslim is authentic, this proves what the Shiᶜa believe in to be correct, and is testimony to the truthfulness of what their earliest generations (*salaf*) have narrated. But if it is untrue, why do you narrate it in your authentic collections?

He asked: "What about the testimonials narrated by Bukhārī and Muslim on behalf of Abū Bakr, Omar, Othman, and their followers?"

I said:

You know you undertook not to rely on what your co-religionists alone narrate. And you should know that the testimony of no man, on his own behalf, is inadmissible, not even if he is one of the most upstanding, and not even over a dirham or less; conversely, if he is testifying against a claimant and the testimony of someone like him would normally be admissible, it is admissible, even if he is testifying against one of the most upstanding people.

Bukhārī and Muslim believe in the Imamate of those people, so their testimony on their behalf is testimony on behalf of their own belief, promoting those people's leadership and status."

The jurisprudent from the Mustanṣiriyyah School said: "By God, there is no enmity between the truth and me. This is nothing if not indubitably clear. Now, I repent to God of what I used to believe!"

When he had finished repenting, all of a sudden a man behind me threw himself on my hands, kissing them and weeping!

I asked: "Who are you?" He replied: "What business of yours is my name?" I persisted, eventually telling him: "Look, now you are my friend, or I owe you! How can I not know the name of my friend or someone I owe, so as to repay him?" But he refused to tell me his name. I then asked the jurisprudent from the Mustanṣiriyyah School who the man was. He replied: "He is So-and-So, son of So-and-So, one of the jurisprudents from the Niẓāmiyyah School." His name escapes me right now.[245]

And concerning the Ghadīr Festival, blessed Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, may God be pleased with him, says in *al-Iqbāl*:

Section on what we have to say about God's (August is His Splendor) making the Ghadīr Festival superior to all other festivals, and what favor there is on [that festival] for His servants.

Know that upon every new festival, God, August is His Splendor, bestows some of His generosity and favor upon His fortunate servants but only bestows such favor upon someone who is blessed with knowledge of God, August is His Splendor, knowledge of His Messenger, and knowledge of the Imam of his time, and whose belief is correct, because it is narrated via numerous sources (*mutaẓāhiran*) that the bringer of prophetic law said: "Whoever dies without knowing the Imam of his time, dies the death of the time of ignorance!"

And this Festival for Ghadīr Day is on the eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, when God and His Messenger revealed the manifest proof, explicitly appointing God's choice of Imam and Proof.

Know that God's favor and blessing in revealing this, and test pursuant to His grace, is almost greater than the test via the recipient of the prophecy whose status is so great.

This is because in the beginning, the envoy Messenger was sent in Mecca to people who worshiped stones and sticks, objects that neither prevent nor benefit, nor hear what is said, nor give any answer. The minds of the whole of creation bear witness to the ignorance of those who made them, instead of God, their object of worship.

This is one aspect. Another is that before his message, there was no enmity, fighting, or blood-feud between the Meccans and God's Messenger that would naturally and reasonably have prevented them from accepting his prophecy.

However, when God had His Prophet announce our Master, the Master of the Faithful's appointment on Ghadīr Day, the people of Islam had already developed extensive rational, dream-based, and interpretive misconceptions.

Furthermore, for Honorable and Exalted God's sake, and in obedience to His Great Prophet, the Master of the Faithful had fought many people, spilled the blood of many of their great people and ancestors, and so on. He had acted in unison with God's Messenger, opposing whoever opposed him without sparing their feelings. So many honors were bestowed upon him that people of stature became jealous, and so there was opposition to his Imamate, envy, and distaste over his never weakening in acting in unison with God's Messenger, or softening over anything that was at the time when the Prophet was despatched.

The enmity reached the level referred to in detail in previous sections.

He then says:

New Section: Abū Hilāl ʿAskarī, a stubborn opponent, comments extensively in the book *al-Awā'il* on the reason for people's enmity towards our Master, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. He says in praise of Abū al-Haytham Ibn al-Tayyihān:[246] "He was one of the first to pledge allegiance to God's Messenger at the beginning of his prophetic mission."

He then says via his chain from al-Haytham Ibn al-Tayyihān:

إِنَّهُ قَامَ خَطِيباً بَيْنَ يَدَيْ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ فَقَالَ: إِنَّ حَسَدَ قُرَيْشٍ إِيَّاكَ عَلَى وَجْهَيْنِ:

أَمَّا خِيَارُهُمْ فَتَمَنَّوْا أَنْ يَكُونُوا مِثْلَكَ مُنَافَسَةً فِي الْمَلَاءِ وَارْتِفَاعِ الدَّرَجَةِ

وَأَمَّا شِرَارُهُمْ فَحَسَدُوا حَسَداً أَثْقَلَ الْقُلُوبَ وَأَحْبَطَ الْأَعْمَالَ. وَذَلِكَ أَنَّهُمْ رَأَوْا عَلَيْكَ نِعْمَةً قَدَّمَهَا إِلَيْكَ الْحَظُّ وَأَخَّرَهُمْ عَنْهَا الْحِرْمَانُ فَلَمْ يَرْضَوْا أَنْ تَلْحَقُوا حَتَّى طَلَبُوا أَنْ يَسْبِقُوكَ فَبَعُدَتْ وَاللهِ عَلَيْهِمُ الْغَايَةُ وَسَقَطَ الْمِضْمَارُ.

فَلَمَّا تَقَدَّمَتْهُمْ بِالسَّبْقِ وَعَجَزُوا عَنِ اللُّحَاقِ بَلَغَوا مِنْكَ مَا رَأَيْتَ، وَكُنْتَ وَاللهِ أَحَقَّ قُرَيْشٍ بِشُكْرِ قُرَيْشٍ، نَصَرْتَ نَبِيَّهُمْ حَيّاً وَقَضَيْتَ عَنْهُ الْحُقُوقَ مَيِّتاً.

وَاللهِ مَا بَغْيُهُمْ إِلَّا عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ وَلَا نَكْثُهُمْ إِلَّا بَيْعَةَ اللهِ يَدُ اللهِ فَوْقَ أَيْدِيهِمْ فِيهَا، وَنَحْنُ مَعَاشِرَ الْأَنْصَارِ أَيْدِينَا وَأَلْسِنَتُنَا مَعَكَ، فَأَيْدِينَا عَلَى مَنْ شَهِدَ، وَأَلْسِنَتُنَا عَلَى مَنْ غَابَ.

...that he stood up to deliver a sermon in the presence of the Master of the Faithful, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and said:

> Quraysh's jealousy of you is for two reasons.
>
> The best of them wish they were like you, so as to compete with the masses and better their status. The worst of them have such envy of you, that it weighs down their hearts and ruins their [good] deeds. It is because they saw a blessing bestowed upon you offered to you by Providence, but delayed for them by deprivation. Hence, they were not satisfied to follow. They even sought to precede you, but by God the finish line was far from them, and the race track sank!
>
> When you beat them in this race, they exhausted you, as you saw, though by God, you were the worthiest of Quraysh of being thanked by Quraysh! You assisted their Prophet in his lifetime and repaid his debts after he died! By God, they have only wronged themselves, and broken God's covenant in which *God's Hand* was *above their hands*! We the assemblages of Supporters—our hands and tongues are with you! Our hands are against whoever is present, and our tongues are against whoever is absent![247]

Blessed Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs says:

The author of *al-Nashr wa al-Ṭayy* says:

> Abū Saʿīd Khudrī said:
>
> > We did not leave Ghadīr Khumm with God's Messenger until this verse was revealed:
> >
> > الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا.
> >
> > *This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion* (5:3).
> >
> > The Prophet then said:
> >
> > الْحَمْدُ لِلهِ عَلَى كَمَالِ الدِّينِ وَتَمَامِ النِّعْمَةِ وَرِضَا الرَّبِّ بِرِسَالَتِي وَوَلَايَةِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ

"Praise be to God for perfecting the religion, completing the favor, and the Lord's satisfaction with my Prophethood, and Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's Guardianship."

This verse was revealed:

الْيَوْمَ يَئِسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِن دِينِكُمْ فَلَا تَخْشَوْهُمْ وَاخْشَوْنِ

This day, those who disbelieve have despaired of your religion, so fear them not, but fear Me (5:3).

The author of *al-Nashr wa al-Ṭayy* says: "Imam Ṣādiq said: 'The unbelievers despaired, and the wrongdoers became covetous.'"

I [Ibn Ṭāwūs] say:

Muslim relates in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, via his chain from Ṭāriq Ibn Shihāb:

The Jews said to Omar:

If this verse:

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا

This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion (5:3) were revealed to us, the Jews, and we knew the day it was revealed, we would make that day a festival.[248]

Some [Sunnis]—to whom we have referred in *al-Ṭarā'if*—relate that this verse was revealed on Ghadīr Day. The author of *al-Nashr wa al-Ṭayy* says: "It is related that on the day of the prayer duel (*mubāhalah*), God presented Ali to his enemies, and they renounced their enmity, and to his friends on Ghadīr Day, but they became his enemies. What a difference there is between these two groups!"[249]

Nevertheless, all these characteristics and particulars and the revelation of these verses bestow importance and greatness on Ghadīr Day, because they make the noblest Messenger, the bringer of the final message, the Infallible Imams—his rightful successors—and after them the believers happy. So, this is the essence and true meaning of the festival.

Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm Kūfī has related from Muhammad Ibn Ẓahīr, from ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Faḍl Hāshimī, from Imam Jaᶜfar Ṣādiq, from his father, from his forefathers:

قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ (ص) يَوْمُ غَدِيرِ خُمٍّ أَفْضَلُ أَعْيَادِ أُمَّتِي وَهُوَ الْيَوْمُ الَّذِي أَمَرَنِي اللهُ تَعَالَى ذِكْرُهُ بِنَصْبِ أَخِي عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ عَلَماً لِأُمَّتِي يَهْتَدُونَ بِهِ مِنْ بَعْدِي وَهُوَ الْيَوْمُ الَّذِي أَكْمَلَ اللهُ فِيهِ الدِّينَ وَأَتَمَّ عَلَى أُمَّتِي فِيهِ النِّعْمَةَ وَرَضِيَ لَهُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِيناً.[250]

God's Messenger said:

> Ghadīr Khumm Day is my nation's best festival, for it is the day on which God, Exalted is His Remembrance, commanded me to hoist Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as a banner for my people, by which to be guided after I am gone.
>
> It is the Day on which He perfected the religion, and on which He completed the favor unto my nation, and chose Islam as a religion for them.

In the light of this festival and its true meaning, God's Messenger said: "Felicitate me, felicitate me! (*Hanniʾūnī, hanniʾūni!*)" because felicitation and blessing are exclusive to festivals, especially one like this!

Abū Saʿīd Khargūshī Nīshābūrī narrates via his chain from Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib, from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, and from Abū Saʿīd Khudrī:

ثُمَّ قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله: هَنِّئُونِي هَنِّئُونِي! إِنَّ اللهَ تَعَالَى خَصَّنِي بِالنُّبُوَّةِ وَخَصَّ أَهْلَ بَيْتِي بِالْإِمَامَةِ فَلَقِيَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَقَالَ: طُوبَى لَكَ يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ! أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ[251]

> The Prophet then said: "Felicitate me! Felicitate me because Exalted God has conferred the Prophethood upon me, and conferred the Imamate upon my Household."
>
> Thereafter, Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb found the Master of the Faithful and said: "Blessed are you, Abū al-Hasan! You have become my Master, and the Master of every believer, male and female!"

And following God's Messenger's guidance, Ali also celebrated Ghadīr Day as a festival, as we see in his sermon as recorded in *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid* and cited *supra*.

The Infallible Imams also recognized this day, called it a festival, and commanded all the Muslims to celebrate it as a festival, broadcast its merits, and tell people about the extra reward for kindness, good deeds, and charitable donations on that day.

Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm also narrates via his chain from Furāt Ibn Aḥnaf, who said:

I asked Imam [Ṣādiq]: "May I be made your sacrifice! Do the Muslims have any festival better than Fiṭr, Aḍḥā, Friday, and ʿArafah?"

The Imam replied:

> Yes, the best, greatest, and noblest one in terms of status in the sight of God is the day on which God perfected the religion, and revealed this verse to His Prophet:
>
> الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا.
>
> *This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion* (5:3).

I asked him: "What day is that?"
[The Imam] replied:

> Whenever one of the Israelite prophets wanted to make his testamentary instruction and appoint the imam after him, and did so, [the Israelites] would celebrate that day as a festival.
>
> [So the best festival] is the day on which God's Messenger hoisted the Master of the Faithful as a banner for everybody, what was revealed was revealed, the religion was perfected, and the favor was completed unto the believers.

I asked: "Which day of the year is it?"

[The Imam] replied: "Days come sooner or later, so it could be a Saturday, Sunday, Monday, or any other day of the week."

I asked: "So, what should we do on that day?"

[The Imam] replied: "It is a day of worship, prayer, giving thanks to and praising God, and cheer over God's blessing unto you—our Guardianship. So, I would like you to fast!"[252]

Muhammad Ibn Yaʿqūb Kulaynī relates from Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Qāsim Ibn Yaḥyā, from his grandfather Hasan Ibn Rāshid, from Imam Ṣādiq:

I asked the Imam: "May I be made your sacrifice! Do the Muslims have any festivals other than the two (Fiṭr and Aḍḥā)?"

He replied: "Yes, Hasan! Greater and nobler than those two."

I asked: "What day is it?"

He replied: "The day on which the Master of the Faithful was hoisted as a banner and Imam for the people."

I asked: "May I be made your sacrifice! What should we do on that [day]?"

He replied: "Fast, Hasan, invoke much blessing upon Muhammad and his Family, and disavow those who wronged them before God! For the prophets would command their executors: "The day on which the executor was appointed should be celebrated as a festival!"

I asked: "What will someone who fasts [that day] get?"

He replied: "[The reward of] fasting for sixty months! And you should not fail to fast on the twenty-seventh of the month of Rajab, because the Prophethood came down upon Muhammad that day, and its reward for you is like for fasting for sixty months."[253]

Kulaynī also relates from Sahl Ibn Ziyād, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Sālim, from his father, who said:

I asked [Imam] Ṣādiq: "Do the Muslims have any other festival apart from Friday, Aḍḥā, and Fiṭr?"

He said: "Yes, more sacred than all of them!"

I asked: "Which festival is it? May I be made your sacrifice?!"

He replied: "The day on which God's Messenger appointed the Master of the Faithful and said: 'Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master.'"

I asked: "What day is it?"

He said: "What use is the day to you? Every year is different (*tadūr*).[254] Nevertheless, it is the eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah."

So I asked: "What should we do on that day?!"

He said: "You should remember God, Exalted is His remembrance, by fasting, worshiping, and remembering Muhammad and his Household,

because God's Messenger instructed the Master of the Faithful to celebrate that day as a festival, as did the prophets, so instructing their executors to celebrate it as a festival."[255]

After relating these two narrations, which we quoted from *al-Kāfī*, Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs says:

Some of those who have narrated on the virtue of the Ghadīr are the Great Shaykhs, Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad Ibn Bābawayh, Mufīd (Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Nuʿmān), and Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad Ibn Hasan Ṭūsī, all of whom relate via their chain from [Imam] Ṣādiq, who said:

إنّ العمل في يوم الغدير: ثامن عشر ذي الحجة يعدل العمل في ثمانين شهراً.[256]

"Surely, any good deed on Ghadīr Day, the eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, is equivalent to eighty months' [worth] of deeds."

Another narration that they all also relate from Imam Ṣādiq says:

صَوْمُ يَوْمِ غَدِيرِ خُمٍّ كَفَّارَةُ سِتِّينَ سَنَةً.[257]

"Fasting on Ghadīr Khumm Day expiates sixty years' [worth of sins]."

Another narrator of the virtue of the Ghadīr is the author of *al-Nashr wa al-Ṭayy*, via his chain from Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Saʿīd Hāshimī Kūfī, from Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm Kūfī, from Muhammad Ibn Ẓahīr, from ʿAbdullāh Ibn Faḍl Hāshimī, from [Imam] Ṣādiq, from his forefathers:

قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيهِ وَآلِهِ: يَوْمُ غَدِيرِ خُمٍّ افْضَلُ اعْيَادِ امَّتِي، هُوَ الْيَوْمُ الَّذِي أَمَرَنِيَ اللهُ فِيهِ بِنَصْبِ أَخِي عَلِيِّ بْنِ ابِي طَالِبٍ فِيهِ عَلَماً لأُمَّتِي يَهْتَدُونَ بِهِ بَعْدِي. وَهُوَ الْيَوْمُ الَّذِي أَكْمَلَ اللهُ فِيهِ الدِّينَ وَأَتَمَّ عَلَى امَّتِي فِيهِ النِّعْمَةَ وَرَضِيَ لَهُمُ الاسْلامَ دِيناً.

God's Messenger stated: "Ghadīr Khumm Day is the best of my nation's festivals. It is the day on which [God] commanded me to hoist Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as a banner for my nation, by whom to be guided. It is the day on which God perfected the religion, completed [His] blessing unto my nation, and chose Islam as a religion for them."

He then said:

مَعَاشِرَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ عَلِيّاً مِنِّي وَأَنَا مِنْ عَلِيٍّ خُلِقَ مِنْ طِينَتِي وَهُوَ بَعْدِي يُبَيِّنُ لَهُمْ مَا اخْتَلَفُوا فِيهِ مِنْ سُنَّتِي. وَهُوَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَقَائِدُ الْغُرِّ الْمُحَجَّلِينَ وَيَعْسُوبُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَخَيْرُ الْوَصِيِّينَ وَزَوْجُ سَيِّدَةِ نِسَاءِ الْعَالَمِينَ وَأَبُو الْأَئِمَّةِ الْمَهْدِيِّينَ.[258]

"O ye people! Ali is part of me and I am part of Ali. He was created from my clay. After me, he will explain that of my tradition over which they disagree. He is the Master of the Faithful, the leader of the bright-faced, white-footed, the drone of the faithful, the best of the executors, the husband of the chief lady of all the worlds, and the father of the guided Imams."

Another narrator is Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ṭarāzī, who relates in his book, via his chain from Mufaḍḍal Ibn Omar, who said:

Abū ʿAbdillāh [Imam Ṣādiq] told me:

> When it is the Day of Resurrection, four days will be led to Honorable and Exalted God the way a bride is led to her private quarters (*khidr*): Fiṭr day, Aḍḥā day, Friday, and Ghadīr Khumm day. Ghadīr Khumm day will be between Fiṭr and Aḍḥā, and Friday will be like the moon among the stars.
>
> God will entrust Ghadīr Khumm to his favored angels, chief amongst whom, that day, will be Gabriel; His Prophets, chief amongst whom that day will be Muhammad; His chosen executors, chief amongst whom that day will be the Master of the Faithful; and God's friends, chiefs amongst whom that day will be Salmān, Abū Dharr, Miqdād, and ʿAmmār. They will all take the Ghadīr to Paradise, as a shepherd leads his sheep to water and pasture.

[Mufaḍḍal says:] I said: "O my Master! Do you bid me to fast [that day]?"

He told me:

> Yes, by God! Yes, by God! Yes, by God! It [Ghadīr Day] is the day on which Transcendent God forgave Adam, so [Adam] fasted that day out of gratitude to God. And it is the day on which God saved Abraham from the fire, so [Abraham] fasted out of gratitude to Transcendent God. And it is a day on which Moses put his brother, Aaron, up as a banner, so he fasted that day out of gratitude to God.
>
> And it is the day on which Jesus presented his executor, Simon Peter, so he fasted that day out of gratitude to Honorable and Exalted

> God. It is the day on which God's Messenger put Ali up as a banner for the people, on which he made its virtue, and his executor clear. So he fasted that day out of gratitude to Transcendent God. Certainly, it is a day to fast, pray, feed [the needy], and visit brothers [in Islam], on which the Merciful is pleased, and Satan is spited.[259]

After setting out these narrations, Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs has a section on the virtue of Ghadīr Day, where he says: "Section in response to whoever asks what the virtue of Ghadīr Day is and whose mind is unable to comprehend the narrations we have related."

> You should understand that just some of the reasons why no executors or luminaries before or since have known any merit quite like Ghadīr Day's are the following:
>
> i) Honorable and Exalted God made Ali the Prophet's self, as per the Prayer-Duel Verse:
>
> فَقُلْ تَعَالَوْا نَدْعُ أَبْنَاءَنَا وَأَبْنَاءَكُمْ وَنِسَاءَنَا وَنِسَاءَكُمْ وَأَنْفُسَنَا وَأَنْفُسَكُمْ.
>
> *Come let us call our sons and your sons and our women and your women and ourselves and yourselves, then let us pray humbly and invoke God's curse on the liars* (3:61).
>
> In *al-Ṭarā'if* we quote the Sunnis (*mukhālifīn*) as saying *sons* means Hasan and Husayn, *women* means Fāṭimah, and *ourselves* means Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.
>
> Flowing from the veneration of God's Messenger's self, whatever applies to [the Prophet] also applies to our Master Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib by virtue of his status [as the Prophet's self]. This is reason enough for us to venerate Ghadīr Day.
>
> ii) In *al-Ṭarā'if* we narrate on the authority of the Sunnis that Ali's light was originally created from the Prophet's light. This is proof of the greatness of both their statuses.
>
> iii) Our Master, Ali, belongs to God's Messenger's nation.[260]
>
> iv) Whenever an appointed Caliph's sacredness provides a safeguard, this shows the greatness of whoever's Caliph he is. Our Master, Ali, is God's and His Prophet's representative in every blessing and kindness, and he is security against any calamity.
>
> v) Honorable and Exalted God says:
>
> كُنْتُمْ خَيْرَ أُمَّةٍ أُخْرِجَتْ لِلنَّاسِ تَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَتَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ.

You are the best community raised up for mankind, enjoining what is right, and forbidding what is wrong (3:110). Because of this undeniable and indisputable attribute, *enjoining what is right, and forbidding what is wrong*, God and His Prophet having made Ali the chief of this community, the best community, Ali is greater than any other chief, in terms of nobility and high-mindedness, and is most perfectly allotted.

vi) We find that the trial that the Master of the Faithful, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, was put through—through God's and His Prophet's appointing him—was greater than any other trial that any other executor was put through. This is because of what befell the Master of the Faithful—having to oppose and fight so many envious people and enemies of the religion for the sake of God, the Lord of all worlds, and to assist the Master of the Prophets. Fair-mindedness bears witness that virtue is commensurate with the trial visited by the Master of Causes.

vii) Our Master Ali protected the Prophet and defended Islam and the Muslims, on several battlefields where many others' strength failed.

So, may God, August is His Splendor, and His Prophet reward him for that clear merit in making these stands, such as lying in the Prophet's bed in Mecca. None of the others who were close to the Prophet were able to do that: some fled, while others simply could not! Therefore, all benefit derived from the continuation of the Prophethood after the migration is thanks to our Master, who was prepared to give up his life-blood.

viii) Ali delivered *Sūrat al-Barāʾah* ("An Immunity"), exiting the peace treaties with the pagans, when it was revealed to the Seal of the Prophets that

إِنَّهُ لَا يُؤَدِّيهَا إِلَّا أَنْتَ أَوْ رَجُلٌ مِنْكَ

"No one but you or a man of your kind (*rajul mink*) should deliver it." He who took the Prophet's place was our Master Ali, the Master of the Faithful.

ix) Our Master Ali's performance at Badr, Khaybar, Ḥunayn, and Uḥud—battlefields where fathers would have deserted their own sons.

x) Ali slew the formidable ʿAmr Ibn ʿAbd Wudd. In *al-Ṭarāʾif* we narrate on the authority of the Sunnis (*al-mukhālifīn min al-ʿāmmah*) that the Prophet said:

لَضَرْبَةُ عَلِيٍّ لِعَمْرِو بْنِ عَبْدِوُدٍ أَفْضَلُ مِنْ عَمَلِ أُمَّتِي إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ

"The blow Ali delivered to ʿAmr Ibn ʿAbd Wudd is greater than everything done by my entire nation right up until the Day of Resurrection." Another narration says:

لَضَرْبَةُ عَلِيٍّ يَوْمَ الْخَنْدَقِ اَفْضَلُ مِنْ عِبَادَةِ الثَّقَلَيْنِ.

"The blow delivered by Ali at the Battle of Khandaq is greater than all the worship by all men and *jinn*."

Similarly when our Master, Ali, advanced towards ʿAmr Ibn ʿAbd Wudd, the Prophet said: "Islam in its entirety has advanced on all unbelief!"

Now, what do you think about the man whom the Prophet considers to be Islam in its entirety?! How can his merit be explained or expounded? May God Almighty bless the composer of this ode:

يَفْنَى الْكَلَامُ وَلَا يُحِيطُ بِوَصْفِهِ أَيُحِيطُ مَا يَفْنَى بِمَا لَا يَنْفَدُ

> Words run out without describing him. Can that which runs out comprehend that which has no end?!

xi) It was God, the Honorable and Exalted, and His Prophet who appointed Ali as successor, deputy to all virtue of Messengerhood and Prophethood. I cannot describe the true essence of this status. God, the Honorable and Exalted, has stated:

يَا اَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا اُنْزِلَ اِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَاِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللّٰهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ.

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message, and God will protect you from the people (5:67).

We related from the Sunnis (*al-mukhālifīn*) in *al-Ṭarāʾif*, and in this book—*al-Iqbāl*—that this verse indubitably means the appointment of Ali as Master on Ghadīr Day.

Honorable and Exalted God's grace was such that Ali performed so many miracles that a large number of creatures to this day make claims about him similar to those made by the Christians about Jesus—that he is Lord of all Worlds, to whom all acts of worship are to be directed.

xii) Our Master Ali, as ordered to by the bringer of the Lord's Prophecy, punished those who deified him, but his punishment of them only increased their belief in him as Lord of all Worlds.

And we have never seen an object of worship punish his worshipers like this, only for them to persevere in their worship of him. This just proves that showing his virtue confounds minds until they reach this astounding situation. We are unable to explain fully the virtues of our Master Ali. In *al-Ṭarāʾif*, we referred to some proofs of his sublime status. The

Noble Qur'an speaks briefly about the blessings bestowed by God upon His servants, saying:

وَاِنْ تَعُدُّوا نِعْمَتَ اللهِ لَا تُحْصُوهَا...

And if you count God's favours, you will not be able to number them (14:34), and this [the blessing of Ali's being Master and Imam] is one of these innumerable blessings, because the Master of the Faithful is the chief of the people who happened upon and achieved [those blessings].[261]

In *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, Shaykh Ṭūsī relates from Dāwūd Ibn Kathīr Riqqī that Abū Hārūn ʿAmmār Ibn Ḥarīz ʿAbdī said:

On the eighteenth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, I went to see Abū ʿAbdillāh [Imam Ṣādiq] and found him to be fasting, so he told me:

هَذَا يَوْمٌ عَظِيمٌ عَظَّمَ اللهُ حُرْمَتَهُ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَاَكْمَلَ لَهُمْ فِيهِ الدِّينَ وَتَمَّمَ عَلَيْهِمُ النِّعْمَةَ وَجَدَّدَ لَهُمْ مَا اَخَذَ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنَ الْعَهْدِ وَالْمِيثَاقِ.

"This is a great day, the sanctity of which has been made great by God for the believers, and on which He perfected the religion for them, and completed His favor unto them, and renewed the covenant and pact He had already made with them." [The Imam] was asked: "What is the reward for fasting on this day?"

[The Imam] stated:

يَوْمُ عِيدٍ وَفَرَحٍ وَسُرُورٍ، وَيَوْمُ صَوْمٍ شُكْرًا لِلّٰهِ

[It is] a day of celebration (*ʿid*), joy, and happiness, and fasting out of gratitude to God. Fasting [this day] is equivalent to [doing so on] sixty of the holy months.

Whoever prays two *rakʿahs* at whatever time he likes on [this day], the best [time] being near noon, which is the time when the Master of the Faithful was put up as a banner for all the people at Ghadīr Khumm, because they were close to home at that time, and after the two *rakʿahs*, prostrates, and says a hundred times: "Thanks be to God," says the prayer that is coming up,[262] lifts his head up from prostration, then prostrates, and praises and thanks God a hundred times while still prostrate, will be like someone who was present on Ghadīr Day and pledged allegiance to God's Messenger, accepting the Master of the Faithful as Master. His level will be with the level of the truthful who were truthful to God and His Prophet in accepting their Master that day. He will be like those martyred for God's Messenger, for the Master of the Faithful and for Hasan and Husayn, and like those who will [serve] under the Implementer's

(*Qa'im's*) banner in his encampment among the chosen and the chiefs.[263]

Shaykh Ṣadūq relates via his chain from Hasan Ibn Rāshid, from Mufaḍḍal Ibn Omar:

I asked Abū ᶜAbdillāh [Imam Ṣādiq] how many festivals the Muslims have.

He replied: "Four festivals."

I said: "I know the two Festivals (Fiṭr and Aḍḥā), and Friday."

[The Imam] stated: "The greatest and noblest of them is the eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, the day on which God's Messenger put up and hoisted the Master of the Faithful as a banner for all the people."

I asked: "What must we do on that day?"

[The Imam] replied: "You must fast [on that day], out of gratitude to God and in praise of God though He deserves to be thanked every hour. Similarly, the prophets enjoined their executors that day on which the executor was appointed and to celebrate it. Whoever fasts it, it is better than sixty years' [good] deeds."[264]

In *al-Iqbāl*, Sayyid [Ibn Ṭāwūs] relates from Muhammad Ibn Ali Ṭarāzī, in his book, via his chain from ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Jaᶜfar Ḥimyarī, saying:

Hārūn Ibn Muslim told us on the authority of Abū al-Hasan Laythī, quoting Abū ᶜAbdillāh Jaᶜfar Ibn Muhammad as saying to those who loved him and those of his followers who were in his presence:

"Do you know a day on which God built up Islam strongly, on which He manifested the lighthouse of the religion, and which He made a festival for us, and for those who love us, and our followers?"

They replied: "God, His Messenger, and His Messenger's scion know best. Is it Fiṭr day, our Master?"

He replied: "No."

They asked: "Is it Aḍḥā day?"

He replied:

No, though those two days are great [and] noble. The day of the custodians of the religion is nobler than those two. It is the eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. When God's Messenger headed home from the Farewell Pilgrimage and passed by Ghadīr Khumm, Honorable and Exalted God commanded Gabriel to descend to the Prophet when it was time to perform the midday prayer that day and to tell him to appoint the Master of the Faithful as Master and hoist him as a banner for the people after him and appoint him as successor among his nation.

Gabriel then descended and told him: "O my beloved! God greets you and tells you: 'Appoint, this day, Ali as Master, that he may be a banner for your nation to turn to after you are gone, to be as you have been for them.'"

The Prophet said: "O, my beloved, Gabriel! I fear my companions pursuing an old vendetta against him, and revealing their hidden [grudge] against him."

Gabriel ascended, but no sooner did he do so than he brought down God's commandment, saying:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message, and God will protect you from the people (5:67).

Then the Prophet stood up alarmed and frightened, fearful of the hot sand, his feet roasting, but commanded that the place be cleaned and that the thorns under the many-branched trees be piled, and so it was done.

He then announced: "Congregational prayer," so the Muslims gathered together. Among them were Abū Bakr, Omar, Othman, and all the other Migrants and Supporters.

He then stood up to deliver a sermon, stated the extent of the authority (*al-walāyah*), bound all the Muslims by it, and informed them of God's having commanded it.

One group said what they said and whispered to each other what they kept secret.

When the morning of Ghadīr comes, it is necessary to bathe at the beginning of the day, and for the believer to wear his cleanest and finest clothes, apply perfume, and lift his hands in prayer, saying:

اللّٰهُمَّ اِنَّ هٰذَا الْيَوْمَ الَّذِي شَرَّفْتَنَا فِيهِ بِوَلَايَةِ وَلِيِّكَ عَلِيٍّ صَلَوَاتُ اللّٰهِ عَلَيْهِ وَجَعَلْتَهُ
اَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَاَمَرْتَنَا بِمُوَالَاتِهِ وَطَاعَتِهِ وَاَنْ نَتَمَسَّكَ بِمَا يُقَرِّبُنَا اِلَيْكَ وَيُزْلِفُنَا لَدَيْكَ اَمْرُهُ
وَنَهْيُهُ،
اَللّٰهُمَّ قَدْ قَبِلْنَا اَمْرَكَ وَنَهْيَكَ وَاَطَعْنَا نَبِيَّكَ وَسَلَّمْنَا وَرَضِينَا فَنَحْنُ مَوَالِيَ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام
وَاَوْلِيَائُهُ كَمَا اَمَرْتَ نُوَالِيهِ وَنُعَادِي مَنْ يُعَادِيهِ وَنَبْرَأُ مِمَّنْ يَبْرَأُ مِنْهُ وَنُبْغِضُ مَنْ اَبْغَضَهُ
وَنُحِبُّ مَنْ اَحَبَّهُ وَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَانَا كَمَا قُلْتَ وَاِمَامُنَا بَعْدَ نَبِيِّنَا كَمَا اَمَرْتَ.

O God! Today is the day on which You honored us with the appointment of Your friend, Ali, as Master, made him the Master of the Faithful, and commanded us to accept him as Master and obey him, and to cling to that which brings us closer to You, and [fulfilling] his command and prohibition ingratiates us with You. O God, we have accepted Your command and prohibition! We have obeyed Your Prophet, have submitted, and are content, so we are Ali's servants and his supporters. As You have commanded, we accept him as Master and are enemy to whoever is his enemy. We disavow whoever disavows him, hate whoever hates him and love whoever loves him. As You stated, Ali is our Master, and as You have commanded, he is our Imam after the Messenger, may God bless him and his Family.

When midday comes, take your seat calmly, quietly, dignifiedly, reverently, and humbly and say:

اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ كَمَا فَضَّلَنَا فِي دِينِهِ عَلَى مَنْ جَحَدَ وَعَنَدَ وَفِي نَعِيمِ الدُّنْيَا عَلَى كَثِيرٍ
مِمَّنْ عَمَدَ وَهَدَانَا بِمُحَمَّدٍ نَبِيِّهِ صَلَّى اللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَشَرَّفَنَا بِوَصِيِّهِ وَخَلِيفَتِهِ فِي حَيَاتِهِ
وَبَعْدَ مَمَاتِهِ اَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ. اَللّٰهُمَّ اِنَّ مُحَمَّداً صَلَّى اللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ نَبِيُّنَا كَمَا
اَمَرْتَ وَعَلِيّاً عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَوْلَانَا كَمَا اَقَمْتَ، وَنَحْنُ مَوَالِيهِ وَاَوْلِيَاؤُهُ.

Praise be to God Who in His religion has made us superior to whoever rejects and is stubborn, and to many who apply themselves with regard to the world's comfort, and has guided us through His Prophet, may God bless him and his Family, and

has honored us with his executor and successor, during his lifetime and after his demise—the Master of the Faithful. O God! As You have commanded us, Muhammad is our Prophet, and as You have appointed, Ali is our Master, and we are his servants and supporters.

Then stand up, and pray two *rakʿahs* out of gratitude to God: Recite *Praise* (*al-Hamd*) and *Decree* (*al-Qadr*) in the first and recite *Praise* (*al-Hamd*) and *Unity* (*al-Tawḥīd*) in the second, recite a *qunūt*,[265] bow down, finish your prayer, utter the greeting, prostrate yourself, and say in your prostration:

اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّا إِلَيْكَ نُوَجِّهُ وُجُوهَنَا فِي يَوْمِ عِيدِنَا الَّذِي شَرَّفْتَنَا فِيهِ بِوَلَايَةِ مَوْلَانَا أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ، عَلَيْكَ تَوَكَّلْنَا، وَبِكَ نَسْتَعِينُ فِي أُمُورِنَا.

اللَّهُمَّ لَكَ سَجَدَتْ وُجُوهُنَا، وَأَشْعَارُنَا، وَأَبْشَارُهَا، وَجُلُودُنَا، وَعُرُوقُنَا، وَأَعْظُمُنَا، وَأَعْصَابُنَا، وَلُحُومُنَا، وَدِمَاؤُنَا.

اللَّهُمَّ إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ، وَلَكَ نَخْضَعُ، وَلَكَ نَسْجُدُ عَلَى مِلَّةِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَدِينِ مُحَمَّدٍ، وَوَلَايَةِ عَلِيٍّ صَلَوَاتُكَ عَلَيْهِمْ أَجْمَعِينَ، حُنَفَاءَ مُسْلِمِينَ، وَمَا نَحْنُ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ وَلَا مِنَ الْجَاحِدِينَ.

اللَّهُمَّ الْعَنِ الْجَاحِدِينَ الْمُعَانِدِينَ الْمُخَالِفِينَ لِأَمْرِكَ وَأَمْرِ رَسُولِكَ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ اللَّهُمَّ الْعَنِ الْمُبْغِضِينَ لَهُمْ لَعْنًا كَثِيرًا لَا يَنْقَطِعُ أَوَّلُهُ وَلَا يَنْفَدُ آخِرُهُ.

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ، وَثَبِّتْنَا عَلَى مُوَالَاتِكَ، وَمُوَالَاةِ رَسُولِكَ وَآلِ رَسُولِكَ وَمُوَالَاةِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ صَلَوَاتُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِمْ.

اللَّهُمَّ آتِنَا فِي الدُّنْيَا حَسَنَةً وَفِي الْآخِرَةِ حَسَنَةً وَأَحْسِنْ مُنْقَلَبَنَا يَا سَيِّدَنَا وَمَوْلَانَا.

O God! At this festival of ours, at which You have honored us by appointing the Master of the Faithful, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib (may God bless him) as Master, we turn our faces to You, rely on You, and seek Your help in all our affairs!

O God, our faces, hair, epidermises, hides, veins, bones, nerves, flesh, and blood have prostrated before You. O our Creator! You Alone We worship, and before You we humble ourselves. We prostrate before You, pursuant to Abraham's religion, Muhammad's faith (*dīn*), and Ali's Guardianship, may Your blessings be upon all of them, as pure Muslims, and we are not polytheists or rejecters!

> O God! Curse the stubborn rejecters who oppose Your commandment and Your Prophet's commandment! O God, curse profusely, unstopping, and unendingly those who hate them. O God! Bless Muhammad and his Family, and make us firm in our acceptance of You as Master, Your Messenger and his Family as Master, and the Master of the Faithful as Master, God's blessings upon them.
>
> Our Lord! Grant us good in this world, and good in the Hereafter, and give us a good final destiny, our Master and Protector!

Then, eat, drink, show joy, feed your brothers, heap kindness upon them, and see to their needs in veneration of your day, contrary to those who show sorrow and grief that [day]—may God increase their sorrow and grief. Catch up with your brothers and strive to see to their needs.[266]

ᶜAllāmah Amīnī relates from Kulaynī, via his chain from Husayn Ibn Hasan Ḥusaynī, from Muhammad Mūsā Hamedānī, quoting Ali Ibn Ḥassān Wāsiṭī, from Ali Ibn Husayn ᶜAbdī, who said:

I heard Abū ᶜAbdillāh [Imam Ṣādiq] say:

صِيَامُ يَوْمِ غَدِيرِ خُمٍّ يَعْدِلُ عِنْدَ اللهِ فِي كُلِّ عَامٍ مِائَةَ حَجَّةٍ وَمِائَةَ عُمْرَةٍ مَبْرُورَاتٍ مُتَقَبَّلَاتٍ، وَهُوَ عِيدُ اللهِ الْأَكْبَرُ. الحديث.[267]

"Fasting on Ghadīr Khumm Day is in God's sight equivalent to a hundred *ḥajj* pilgrimages and a hundred *ᶜumrahs* [all] blessed [and] accepted every year. It is God's greatest festival..."

Mukhtaṣar Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt says via [the author's] chain from Muhammad Ibn ᶜAlā Hamedānī Wāsiṭī and Yaḥyā Ibn Jurayḥ Baghdādī, who both relate in a hadith:

We both set out to visit Aḥmad Ibn Isḥāq Qummī, who died in 260 AH in Qom, companion of Imam Abū Muhammad ᶜAskarī.

We knocked on the door, and a young Iraqi girl came to the door, so we asked after him.

[The girl] said: "He is busy with his celebration because it is a day of celebration!"

We were surprised and said: "Subḥānallāh![268] The Shiʿa have four festivals: Aḍḥā, Fiṭr, Friday, and Ghadīr."[269]

In a lengthy narration on the authority of Imam Riḍā, *al-Nashr wa al-Ṭayy* says:

Ghadīr Day is a day of felicitation. When a believer meets his brother, he should say:

الْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِي جَعَلَنَا مِنَ الْمُتَمَسِّكِينَ بِوِلَايَةِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْأَئِمَّةِ عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَامُ.[270]

"Praise be to God Who made us of those who cling to acceptance of the Master of the Faithful and the Imams as Master."

Muhammad Ibn Ali Ṭarāzī's book says in a narration on the authority of Imam Ṣādiq:

When you come across your brother believer, say:

الْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِي أَكْرَمَنَا بِهَذَا الْيَوْمِ، وَجَعَلَنَا مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَجَعَلَنَا مِنَ الْمُوفِينَ بِعَهْدِهِ الَّذِي عَهِدَ إِلَيْنَا وَمِيثَاقِهِ الَّذِي وَاثَقَنَا بِهِ مِنْ وِلَايَةِ وُلَاةِ أَمْرِهِ وَالْقُوَّامِ بِقِسْطِهِ وَلَمْ يَجْعَلْنَا مِنَ الْجَاحِدِينَ وَالْمُكَذِّبِينَ بِيَوْمِ الدِّينِ.[271]

"Praise be to God Who has honored us with this Day, made us of the believers, and made us of those who are faithful to His covenant that He has covenanted with us and His pact that He has made with us—appointing as Masters His *chargés d'affaires* and the implementers of His equity—and has not made us of those who reject and do not believe in the Day of Judgement."

There are both short and long prayers prescribed for Ghadīr Day. The blessed Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, may God elevate his status, relates lengthy ones from Imam Ṣādiq, and from some old books, narrating from Shaykh Mufid.

There is a salutation, from near or afar, narrated for the Master of Masters, the Master of the Faithful, and [another] salutation narrated on the authority of Imam Ṣādiq by Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs from several of his Shaykhs, from Abū ʿAbdillāh Muhammad Ibn Aḥmad Ṣafwānī, via his chain back to the Imam:

If, on Ghadīr Day, you are at our Master, the Master of the Faithful's, shrine, then after praying and supplicating, go up close to his grave. If you are far away,[272] gesture towards him after praying and recite this supplication:

اللّٰهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى وَلِيِّكَ وَاخِي نَبِيِّكَ وَوَزِيرِهِ وَحَبِيبِهِ وَخَلِيلِهِ وَمَوْضِعِ سِرِّهِ وَخِيَرَتِهِ مِنْ اُسْرَتِهِ وَوَصِيِّهِ...[273]

"O God, bless Your friend, Your Prophet's brother, aide, beloved, friend, repository of his secret, chosen one out of his family, and executor..."

Another salutation is the well known *Amīnallāh* (God's Custodian), cited by Ibn Ṭāwūs as a Ghadīr Day salutation. The Sayyid says:

Section on what we say is a salutation of our Master Ali specific to Ghadīr Day.

Know that we have related several lengthy narrations in the book *Miṣbāḥ al-Zā'ir wa Janāḥ al-Musāfir* that this meeting is too short to cover because there are salutations specific to Ghadīr Day in *Kitāb al-Masarrah* in *al-Mazār* by Ibn Abī Qurrah. They are salutations for Ghadīr Day that we have related from many people from Ibn Abī Qurrah.

Ibn Abī Qurrah says:

Muhammad Ibn ʿAbdillāh informed us that his father had informed him that Hasan Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Qurrah had told him that his father had told him, on the authority of Jābir Ibn Yazīd Juʿfī, on the authority of Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad Ibn Ali, who said:

After his father Husayn Ibn Ali was martyred, my father Ali Ibn Husayn took up residence in a hair tent, and lived in the desert, remaining there for several years, hating mixing with and close contact with people.

His custom was that he used to travel from his campsite in the desert to Iraq to visit his father and his grandfather, without anyone realizing it.

Muhammad Ibn Ali stated:

My father set off for Iraq to visit the Master of the Faithful. I was with him, and there was nothing with a soul with us, apart from two she-camels.

When he reached Najaf, which is of the land of Kufa, and he traveled to his destination, he wept until his beard became wet with tears. He then said:

السَّلامُ عَلَيْكَ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَرَحْمَةُ اللهِ وَبَرَكَاتُهُ السَّلامُ عَلَيْكَ يَا أَمِينَ اللهِ فِي أَرْضِهِ وَحُجَّتَهُ عَلَى عِبَادِهِ...

"Peace be upon you, Master of the Faithful, and God's mercy and blessings. Peace be upon you, God's custodian on His earth and His Proof for His servants..."

eventually saying:

مشغولة عن الدنيا بحمدك وثنائك.

"...kept too busy for the world by praising and glorifying you." He then placed his cheek on the grave and said:

اللهم ان قلوب المخبتين اليك والهة

"O God, surely the hearts of those who humble themselves before You are mad with love..." up to the phrases:

وغاية رجائي، في منقلبي ومثواي

"...and my ultimate hope in my ultimate fate and place of rest."

Jābir Juᶜfī says:

[Imam] Bāqir told me:

> None of our followers utters or prays these words at the grave of the Master of the Faithful or at the grave of any of the other Imams, without making his prayer fall onto a step of light, sealed by Muhammad, and it will remain thus preserved until it is handed over to the Implementer from Muhammad's Family, God's blessings be upon him. They will then meet their utterer with good news, greeting, and honor, God-willing.[274]

Jābir says:

I related this narration to Abū ᶜAbdillāh [Imam Ṣādiq] and he said:

> Add to it: When you bid one of the Imams farewell, say:
>
> السلام عليك ايها الامام ورحمة الله وبركاته، استودعك الله وعليك السلام ورحمة الله، آمنا بالرسول وبما جئتم به وبما دعوتم اليه، اللهم لا

تجعله آخر العهد من زيارتي وليك، اللهم لا تحرمني ثواب مزاره الذي
اوجبت له وبسرنا العود اليه ان شاء الله!

> Peace, God's mercy, and blessings be upon you, O Imam! I leave you with God, and peace and God's mercy be upon you! We believe in the Messenger, and in what you have brought and invited to! O God! Do not make this the last time I visit Your friend. O God! Do not deprive me of the reward You have made incumbent for visiting him. And make it easy for us to return, God-willing.

After relating this reliable (*muᶜtabar*) salutation, on the authority of *al-Mazār* by Ibn Abī Qurrah, Ibn Ṭāwūs says:

> I say: Our Master [Imam] Ṣādiq also visited the Master of the Faithful's grave, [uttering] similar words of salutation. We shall not quote it for fear of prolixity.
>
> And my grandfather Abū Jaᶜfar Ṭūsī[275] relates this salutation for Ghadīr Day, on the authority of Jābir Juᶜfī, on the authority of Imam Bāqir: "On Ghadīr Day, our Master Ali Ibn al-Husayn visited the Master of the Faithful, [uttering] this salutation with a slight difference in wording, and without bidding farewell."[276]

Fasting is one of the rites of Ghadīr Day. A number of narrations from both the Shiᶜa and Sunnis on the reward for fasting on this day have already been quoted within this discussion. As stated, the reward for doing so is equivalent to sixty months', eighty months', sixty years', or sixty holy months' worth of fasting.

Now, we shall relate below a narration from Ibn Ṭāwūs from Muhammad Ibn Ali Ṭarāzī's book, quoting Abū al-Hasan ᶜAbd al-Qāhir, Imam Mūsā Ibn Jaᶜfar's and Imam Jawād Abū Jaᶜfar Muhammad Ibn Ali's doorman, who says:

> Abū al-Hasan Ali Ibn Ḥassān Wāsiṭī told me in Wāsiṭ in the year 300:
>
> > Ali Ibn Hasan Ibn Ali ᶜAbdī told me:
> >
> > > I heard Abū ᶜAbdillāh Jaᶜfar Ibn Muhammad al-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, his forefathers and his descendants, say:

صوم يوم غدير خم يعدل صيام عمر الدنيا لو عاش انسان عمر الدنيا ثم لو صام ما عمرت الدنيا لكان له ثواب ذلك. وصيامه يعدل عند الله عزّ وجل مائة حجة ومائة عمرة وهو عيد الله الاكبر.

وما بعث الله عزّ وجل نبيا الّا وتعيّد في هذا اليوم وعرف حرمته واسمه في السماء يوم العهد المعهود وفي الارض يوم الميثاق المأخوذ والجمع المشهود الحديث.[277]

The reward for fasting on Ghadīr Khumm Day is equivalent to the reward for a person's fasting for the entire lifespan of the world, supposing a person lived the world's entire lifespan. Then if he were to fast for the world's entire lifespan, he would be given that reward.

His fast is in Honorable and Exalted God's sight equivalent to [the reward] for a hundred *ḥajj* pilgrimages, and a hundred *ʿumrahs*. It is God's greatest festival. Honorable and Exalted God has not sent a single prophet who did not celebrate this day and know its holiness (*ḥurmah*). Its name in Heaven is the Day of the Covenanted Covenant, and on earth is the Day of the Formed Pact and the Witnessed Gathering...

One rewardable act through which favor is curried on Ghadīr Day is to donate the food to the believers to break their fast. To do so is highly recommended (*mustaḥabb muʾakkad*).

In *al-Nashr wa al-Ṭayy*, Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs cites a lengthy narration in part of which Imam Riḍā said:

ويوم تفطير الصائمين فمن فطر فيه صائما مؤمنا كان كمن اطعم فئاما[278] وفئاما الى ان عد عشرا، ثم قال أوتدرى ما الفئام؟ قال: لا، قال: مائة الف وهو يوم التهنئة نهنئ بعضكم بعضا.[279]

And a day to give those fasting food to break their fast. So, whoever gives food that day to a believer who is fasting to break his fast is equivalent to someone who has fed a *fiʾām*, and a *fiʾām*..."

and so on until he reached ten *fiʾāms*. [The Imam] then asked: "And do you know what a *fiʾām* is?" [The narrator] replied: "No!" [The Imam] said: "A hundred thousand. And it is a day of felicitation for you to felicitate each other!"

In any case, in the light of what we said in *Knowing the Resurrection*,[280] that the reward for an action is based on its true essence, its hidden depths, the intention, the degree of sincerity, and the action's link to God, and that it lifts the veil and generates real closeness to God, it is clear to us how there can be such great reward for deeds done on Ghadīr Day. This is because when an action is not sincere, and is adulterated by showing off, it has no value! True validity of deeds revolves around not denying God, His Prophet, or His appointed Guardian. Conversely when they follow the divine way on the straight road of favor, it is accepted. Whenever a deed is infused with a flavor of love, sincerity, purity, loyalty, and truth, its value increases.

Ghadīr Day is the day on which right was distinguished from wrong, and the day on which the rows of God's armies were formed against the rows of Satan's armies. It is the day of the great test and trial, and the day on which the superficial and image is distinguished from the true essence, reality, and what lies within.

Ghadīr Day was the day on which Satan fought against God, and the day of the manifestation of the appointment of Master and of everyone in the believers' ranks who accepted God's Messenger's commands, and accepted the verses revealed in the Qur'an, and above all, obediently and voluntarily embraced Ali's Guardianship, opening his heart to it, as opposed to involuntarily or under sufferance. Their value became clear because Ghadīr Day is the day of the ultimate test, the day of success or failure. Everyone knows that a student's effort throughout the year, the term, or [his] lifetime becomes apparent on the day of the examination. Every hour of that day is equivalent to several hours of any other day. When a student is absent for a week or more during term time, that time can be made up for, but it is a disaster if he misses just one hour of the final examination because he throws away all the hard work and effort that he put in during the year.

Now, someone who honors Ghadīr Day, honors God's Word, His Messenger, and [his Messenger's] successor. Hence, Ghadīr Day is equivalent to eternity, and just one of its hours is equivalent to days or months, and one minute or even one second of it is equivalent to entire days of any other time, and so on.

Thus, when someone fasts on Ghadīr Day, voluntarily and out of love for Ali and in response to the call of truth, every moment of his thirst and hunger is equivalent to days or months at any other time. So it is not surprising. In fact it is logical and rational for there to be such great reward for acts of worship on Ghadīr Day, stemming as

they do from acceptance of Ali's appointment and linked as they are to the Imam. It is correct and definite.

Such is the Shi'a school. Such is open-mindedness, truth, and the epitome of love, devotion, self-sacrifice, and righteousness that gushes like a fountain. However, the poor Sunnis' school is barren and rootless! When they encounter an authentic prophetic hadith that says that fasting on Ghadīr Day is equivalent to sixty months [of fasting], they forget themselves and ask: "How can a single day's supererogatory fasting be equivalent to sixty months' worth of fasting?"

Ibn Kathīr Dimashqī quotes in *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah* the same narration we quoted above from *Tārikh Baghdād*. As we said, Khaṭīb himself explicitly confirms the narrators to be of good character and reliable: Ḥabshūn Khallāl and Aḥmad Ibn ʿAbdillāh Ibn Aḥmad Nayyirī. However, because it says that God's Messenger said that fasting on Ghadīr Day is equivalent to fasting for sixty months, Ibn Kathīr denies it, saying:

> As for the narration related by Ḍamurah from Ibn Shawdhab, from Maṭar Warrāq, from Shahr Ibn Ḥawshab, from Abū Hurayrah, which says:
>
> قَالَ لَمَّا أَخَذَ رَسُولُ اللهِ بِيَدِ عَلِيٍّ قَالَ: مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ. فَأَنْزَلَ اللهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ: الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي قَالَ أَبُو هُرَيْرَةَ: وَهُوَ يَوْمُ غَدِيرِ خُمٍّ مَنْ صَامَ يَوْمَ ثَمَانَ عَشْرَةَ مِنْ ذِي الْحِجَّةِ كُتِبَ لَهُ صِيَامُ سِتِّينَ شَهْرًا.
>
> When God's Messenger took Ali's hand and said: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master," Honorable and Exalted God then revealed: *This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you* (5:3). Abū Hurayrah said: "That day was Ghadīr Day; sixty months of fasting will be recorded for whoever fasts on the eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah..."

[Here, Ibn Kathīr says]:

> This narration is extremely objectionable, and indeed a lie, because it contradicts that which is recorded in the two authentic collections on the authority of Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb—that this verse was revealed on the Friday—the Day of ʿArafah—during God's Messenger's stay there as referred to above.

Similarly what he says about fasting on the eighteenth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, Ghadīr Khumm Day, being equivalent to fasting for sixty months, is also not correct because [words] to the effect are recorded in the authentic tradition that fasting during the Month of Ramaḍān is equivalent to ten months, so how can one day's fasting be equivalent to sixty months? This is false! And after quoting this narration, our Shaykh, Ḥāfiẓ Abū ʿAbdillāh Dhahabī says: "This hadith is extremely objectionable."

Ḥabshūn Khallāl and Aḥmad Ibn ʿAbdillāh Ibn Aḥmad Nayyirī, who are both particularly honest (*ṣadūqān*), have related it from Ali Ibn Saʿīd Ramlī from Ḍamurah.
Dhahabī says: "He relates this hadith from Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's, Mālik Ibn Ḥuwayrith's, Anas Ibn Mālik's, Abū Saʿīd's and others' hadith via weak chains."

Dhahabī also says: "This hadith was uttered. I am certain that God's Messenger said it. As for: 'O God, be a friend to whoever accepts him as Master,' it is an addition with a strong chain of transmission, but as for this fasting, it is not correct. No, by God, this verse was revealed on none other than the Day of ʿArafah, days before Ghadīr Khumm, but God, the Exalted, knows best."[281]

This is a verbatim quote from Ibn Kathīr, out of our duty to narrate honestly.

Now, we say in response to Dhahabī and his coattail-hanging student, in the light of the rule and law of the chapter on Equivalence of and Conflict of Evidence (*al-taʿādul wa al-tarjīḥ*) in the study of legal presumptions (*ʿilm al-uṣūl*), when the wording of two authentic narrations conflicts, they should both be rejected, because of the conflict, if there is nothing to give either of them preponderance, and alternative evidence should be referred to.

The narration from Omar, related in the two authentic collections, assuming its chain of transmission to be authentic, must conflict with Khaṭīb Baghdādī's narration, because his narration's chain of transmission is also authentic. What proof or reason for giving preponderance is there to make you think that Omar's narration has primacy and to reject Khaṭīb's narration because its wording conflicts with the former?!

The narrators of Khaṭīb's narration are the following:

أبو هُرَيْرَه، شَهْر بن حوشب أشعريّ، مطر بن طهمان وَرّاق أبو رَجاء خراسانی، أبو عَبد الرَّحمن شَوْذَب، ضَمُرَه بن رَبيعة قُرَشی، أبو نصر علی بن سَعيد رَمليّ، حَبْشون بن موسی بن أيّوب خلال، حافظ أبو الحسن علی بن عمر دارقطنی

Abū Hurayrah, Shahr Ibn Ḥawshib Ashʿarī, Maṭar Ibn Ṭuhman, Warrāq Abū Rajaʾ Khurāsānī, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Shawdhab, Ḍamurah Ibn Rabīʿah Qurashī, Abū Naṣr Ali Ibn Saʿīd Ramlī, Ḥabshūn Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ayyūb Khallāl, and Ḥāfiz Abū Hasan Ali Ibn Omar Dāraquṭnī.

All them are considered to be upstanding and reliable by the Sunnis, and fulfil a high level of conditions of acceptability of their narrations. The narration they quote, is, per the jargon, an authentic narration. It cannot be rejected on a whim, just as it cannot be ignored or overlooked simply because its content conflicts with Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's narration.

Thus, we say in summary that in the Sunni books, authenticity or reliability, and either acceptance or rejection, is based entirely on sectarianism, and not on the rules for giving preponderance to certain evidence. That is why this narration has no status according to Sunnis, because based on sectarianism and bias towards the "Caliphs," [these other narrators'] narrations are criticized. It is like a plaintiff giving oral testimony to corroborate his own claim.[282]

Secondly, as explained in detail above, the claim that the verse *This day have I perfected for you your religion* (5:3) was revealed on Ghadīr Day is corroborated by other narrations related by Ibn Mardawayh, Ṭabarī, Khaṭīb, Abū Nuʿaym, Sijistānī, Ḥaskānī, Ibn ʿAsākir, and others in their books. These narrations corroborate Ḥabshūn's narration, giving preponderance to it against Omar's.

Thirdly, as explained above, the verse could have been revealed twice: once one way on the Day of ʿArafah, and then again, in a different way, on Ghadīr Day, because the matter of leadership was set out and emphasized on the Day of ʿArafah, as can be seen in God's Messenger's sermon.

Ibn Kathīr says: "Because the narration says that fasting on Ghadīr Day is equivalent to fasting for sixty months and this statement is false, this means that the entire narration is false."

We have to ask him: Why can fasting on Ghadīr Day not be equivalent to fasting for sixty months? His answer is: "Because it is a supererogatory fast, and is not more important than fasting during the Month of Ramaḍān, which is compulsory, and the reward for doing so is only equivalent to fasting for ten months."

When I had the honor of performing the mandatory *ḥajj* pilgrimage this year, there was a discussion one evening with a Wahhābī scholar in the Holy Mosque. He had memorized verbatim Ibn Kathīr's comment about fasting on Ghadīr Day, and said: "Because this narration considers fasting for just one day equivalent to fasting for sixty months, it is illogical, so it has no probative value."

A young Bahraini Shi'a was sitting next to me, and said to him: "These water-carriers whom you see carrying water for the pilgrims, struggling and toiling night and day, how much do you think they are paid?" He replied: "Five hundred Saudi *riyals* at most!"

The young man asked: "If the Saudi King came to visit the Holy Mosque one day and performed the circumambulation, and one of these water-carriers used his initiative to offer him a clean cup of rosewater-scented water, and the King in return tipped him a thousand Saudi *riyals*, would the King be wrong in doing so?" He replied: "No!"

The young man said:

> The water-carrier earns a fraction over twenty-six *riyals* a day pro rata, or no more than two or three *riyals* an hour, including the hour during which the King is here! He receives this as part of his monthly wage, so how can it be right to give him a thousand-*riyals* tip for doing something that is not part of his job and for reasonable people to praise him for doing so!
>
> The same principle applies to fasting on Ghadīr Day. It is a gift from the King of Kings and their kingdoms and the Lord of the Lords to a sincere servant believer who wants to express his love for and acceptance of Ali as Master by fasting for just one day.

The Wahhābī had no answer to that. He was dumbstruck: *thus he who disbelieved was confounded* (2:258)!

Under these verses:

إِنَّ الْمُتَّقِينَ فِي مَقَامٍ أَمِينٍ فِي جَنَّاتٍ وَعُيُونٍ يَلْبَسُونَ مِنْ سُنْدُسٍ وَإِسْتَبْرَقٍ مُتَقَابِلِينَ كَذَٰلِكَ وَزَوَّجْنَاهُمْ بِحُورٍ
عِينٍ يَدْعُونَ فِيهَا بِكُلِّ فَاكِهَةٍ آمِنِينَ لَا يَذُوقُونَ فِيهَا الْمَوْتَ إِلَّا الْمَوْتَةَ الْأُولَىٰ وَوَقَاهُمْ عَذَابَ الْجَحِيمِ
فَضْلًا مِنْ رَبِّكَ ذَٰلِكَ هُوَ الْفَوْزُ الْعَظِيمُ.

Surely, the God-fearing will be in a secure place among the gardens and springs. Dressed in silk and brocade, facing one another; just like that, and We will wed them to dark-eyed damsels. They will call therein for every kind of fruit with assurance. They will not taste death there except the first death; and He will save them from the punishment of hell. A grace from your Lord.

That is the supreme triumph! And We have indeed made this [Qur'an] easy in your tongue, so that they may heed. So, watch, for they, too, are watching (44:51–59).

Fakhr Rāzī says:

> Our co-religionists rely on this verse as evidence that reward is a grace from God, not an entitlement because when the Exalted categorizes the God-fearing's reward, He explains that they are all a grace and favor from the Exalted God. He then says: *That is the supreme triumph*. Our co-religionists rely on this verse as evidence that grace is superior to any reward received through entitlement because God Exalted describes it as grace from God, and then describes grace from God as *the supreme triumph*.
>
> It also means that when the Great King pays a worker his wage, but then awards the robe of honor to another person, that robe of honor is superior to that wage.[283]

Ibn Kathīr himself, by way of commentary on this verse, says:

> An authentic narration from God's Messenger says:
>
> اعْمَلُوا وَسَدِّدُوا وَقَارِبُوا وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ أَحَدًا لَنْ يُدْخِلَهُ عَمَلُهُ الْجَنَّةَ قَالُوا: وَلَا أَنْتَ يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ؟ قَالَ: وَلَا أَنَا إِلَّا أَنْ يَتَغَمَّدَنِيَ اللهُ بِرَحْمَةٍ مِنْهُ وَفَضْلٍ.[284]
>
> "Know, teach, and think: no one's deeds get him into Heaven!" They asked: "Not even yours, God's Messenger?" He replied: "Not even mine, unless God envelops me with His mercy and grace!"

Thus, we understand that divine reward is commensurate with how much true belief is revealed by deeds. The stronger the belief a person has and the sincerer he is, the greater his reward is. Obviously belief and sincerity, which are attributes of the soul, are more precise, subtler, and more refined than visible physical actions, such as obligatory and unlawful acts. Because commendable and discouraged acts expose a servant in practice and show the level of his love and essence, and these recommended and supererogatory acts of worship are performed by the servant voluntarily, or in other words without their being made compulsory, they gain him favor, and gain him a place in the peaceful and safe divine sanctuary, turning him into God's courtier, close friend, audience, and beloved. Then, the reward will not just be that of fasting for sixty months but instead of fasting for sixty years or for time eternal, as one of the other narrations says.

On the whole, whenever a slave, through good intention and good deeds, leaves the confines of individualization for non-individualization, seeing nothing but God, His Beauty and Majesty, and His endless Ocean of Greatness, and His endless Knowledge, Life, and Power, the servant no longer sees any substance, quantity, quality, relative, where, when, being-in-a-position, having, doing, or being affected. He now only sees the realm of pre-eternal, endless Unity. There is the deep sea of conviction and belief, and getting lost in the Divine Glory and the Glorious Spirit!

Bukhārī relates in his authentic collection via his chain from Abū Hurayrah that God's Messenger said:

إِنَّ اللهَ قَالَ: مَنْ عَادَى لِي وَلِيًّا فَقَدْ آذَنْتُهُ بِالْحَرْبِ. وَمَا تَقَرَّبَ إِلَيَّ عَبْدِي بِشَيْءٍ أَحَبَّ إِلَيَّ مِمَّا افْتَرَضْتُ عَلَيْهِ، وَمَا يَزَالُ عَبْدِي يَتَقَرَّبُ إِلَيَّ بِالنَّوَافِلِ حَتَّى أُحِبَّهُ فَإِذَا أَحْبَبْتُهُ كُنْتُ سَمْعَهُ الَّذِي يَسْمَعُ بِهِ وَبَصَرَهُ الَّذِي يُبْصِرُ بِهِ وَيَدَهُ الَّتِي يَبْطِشُ بِهَا وَرِجْلَهُ الَّتِي يَمْشِي بِهَا، وَإِنْ سَأَلَنِي لَأُعْطِيَنَّهُ وَلَئِنِ اسْتَعَاذَنِي لَأُعِيذَنَّهُ وَمَا تَرَدَّدْتُ عَنْ شَيْءٍ أَنَا فَاعِلُهُ تَرَدُّدِي عَنْ نَفْسِ الْمُؤْمِنِ يَكْرَهُ الْمَوْتَ وَأَنَا أَكْرَهُ مَسَاءَتَهُ[285]

[God said:] I will declare war on whoever is an enemy to any of My friends. My servant cannot gain My favor through anything dearer to Me than what I have made compulsory for him. My servant will continue gaining My favor through supererogatory acts, until I love him, and then when I love him, I will be his ear through which he hears, his sight by which he sees, his hands with which he smites, and his legs on which he walks. And if he asks me for anything, I will certainly give it to him, and if he seeks refuge in Me, I will give him shelter. And I have never delayed in doing anything but in [taking] the soul of a believer, because he would hate to die, and I would hate for him to do evil.[286]

Other narrations refer to great reward for supererogatory acts of worship, such as fasting on the first nine days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, the reward for which is equivalent to the reward for fasting for a whole year, each night preceding [the first ten days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah] being equivalent to the Night of Decree (*Laylat al-Qadr*).

Another example is the narration on the authority of ʿAbdullāh Ibn Omar that says: "When we were with God's Messenger we would consider fasting on the Day of ʿArafah to be equivalent to fasting for two years."

And it is narrated that fasting on the twenty-seventh of Rajab is equivalent to fasting for sixty months.[287] Sunni books are full of similar narrations.

Therefore, Ibn Kathīr and his ilk do not find fault with such narrations in principle. It is just the word Ghadīr, the word *ʿīd*, the revelation of the Perfection Verse, and the words "Ali," "Master," and other such words that appear in this narration to which they object!

Not that there is anything wrong with these words. They only invite mankind to absolute happiness, monotheism, and spiritual perfection, and to keep themselves away from beastliness and devilishness.

وَمَا نَقَمُوا مِنْهُمْ إِلَّا أَن يُؤْمِنُوا بِاللَّهِ الْعَزِيزِ الْحَمِيدِ

And they did not take vengeance on them for aught except that they believed in God, the Mighty, the Praised (85:8)

وَمَا نَقَمُوا إِلَّا أَنْ أَغْنَاهُمُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ مِن فَضْلِهِ

...and they did not find fault except because God and His Messenger enriched them out of His grace (9:74).

سَوَّدْتُ صَحِيفَةَ أَعْمَالِي وَوَكَلْتُ الْأَمْرَ إِلَى حَيْدَر
هُوَ كَهْفِي مِن نَوْبِ الدُّنيا وَشَفِيعِي فِي يَوْمِ الْمَحْشَرْ
قَدْ تَمَّتْ لِي بِوِلَايَتِهِ نِعَمٌ جَمَّتْ عَنْ أَن تُشْكَرْ
لِأُصِيبَ بِهَا الْحَظَّ الْأَوْفَى وَأَخَصَّ بِالسَّهْمِ الْأَوْفَرْ.[288]

I have blackened the scroll of my deeds and handed the matter over to Ḥaydar!
He is my refuge from the mishaps of the world, and my intercessor on the Day of Resurrection.
Through accepting him as Master, blessings too many to give thanks for have been perfected for me.
By which I can have the most fortune, and be conferred with the fullest share.

Lesson One Hundred Thirty-Five

God's Messenger Wound a Turban around the Master of the Faithful's Head on Ghadīr Day

LESSON ONE HUNDRED THIRTY-FIVE

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

And blessing upon Muhammad and his pure Household, and God's curse upon his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection! There is no power or strength except through Lofty Glorious God.

Wise God says in His Glorious Book:

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّٰلِحَٰتِ إِنَّا لَا نُضِيعُ أَجْرَ مَنْ أَحْسَنَ عَمَلًا ۔ أُولَٰئِكَ لَهُمْ جَنَّٰتُ عَدْنٍ تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهِمُ الْأَنْهَٰرُ يُحَلَّوْنَ فِيهَا مِنْ أَسَاوِرَ مِنْ ذَهَبٍ وَيَلْبَسُونَ ثِيَابًا خُضْرًا مِنْ سُندُسٍ وَإِسْتَبْرَقٍ مُتَّكِـِٔينَ فِيهَا عَلَى الْأَرَآئِكِ نِعْمَ الثَّوَابُ وَحَسُنَتْ مُرْتَفَقًا.

Lo! As for those who believe and do good, We do not waste the reward of him who does good work. Those it is for whom are Gardens of Eden beneath which rivers flow. They will be adorned therein with gold bracelets, and wear green clothing of fine silk and heavy brocade, reclining therein on raised thrones. Blessed the reward, and fair the resting place (18:30–31).

In this verse, we note that the people of Heaven's clothing will be of the finest quality green silk.

إِنَّ الْمُتَّقِينَ فِي مَقَامٍ أَمِينٍ فِي جَنَّٰتٍ وَعُيُونٍ يَلْبَسُونَ مِنْ سُندُسٍ وَإِسْتَبْرَقٍ مُّتَقَٰبِلِينَ.

Surely, the God-fearing will be in a secure place among the gardens and springs. Dressed in silk and brocade, facing one another (44:51–53).

إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُدْخِلُ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّٰلِحَٰتِ جَنَّٰتٍ تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَٰرُ يُحَلَّوْنَ فِيهَا مِنْ أَسَاوِرَ مِنْ ذَهَبٍ وَلُؤْلُؤًا وَلِبَاسُهُمْ فِيهَا حَرِيرٌ

وَهُدُوٓا إِلَى الطَّيِّبِ مِنَ الْقَوْلِ وَهُدُوٓا إِلَىٰ صِرَٰطِ الْحَمِيدِ

Surely God will make those who believe and do good deeds enter gardens beneath which rivers flow; they shall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold and pearls and their raiment therein will be silk. And they are guided to the purest speech, and will be guided unto the path of the Praiseworthy (22:23–24).

These blessed verses also say that the people of Heaven's clothing will be made of silk.

This finery is a physical manifestation of their *raiment of restraint* (7:26) and the simple unpolluted clothing that they wore in this world. That is because in Islamic law, men are not allowed to wear

gold, or pure silk clothing. The God-fearing believing men and women who follow the path of the purity, righteousness, and acceptance of [the Infallibles as] Master and whose clothing is simple will be given clothing of silk and brocade in the Hereafter.

Concerning the attributes of the God-fearing, in the sermon he delivered to Hammām, the Master of the Faithful says:

وملبسهم الاقتصاد[289]

("their dress is moderate"). They content themselves by only satisfying their desires and inclinations as much as is necessary to stay alive and keep going. Thus their expenditure on personal possessions is only on simple things, such as clothing that just covers their bodies. However, they liberally give and donate and put others before themselves through a wide range of charitable acts.

Miṣbāḥ al-Sharīᶜah says that Imam Ṣādiq said: "The finest clothes for a believer are *the raiment of restraint;* the softest [clothes] are belief. Exalted God says: *And the raiment of restraint, that is the best* (7:26).

Physical clothing is a blessing from Exalted God, by which man covers up his private parts! It is an honor bestowed by God upon no one else but the children of Adam. For the believers, it is a means to achieve what God has made incumbent upon them.

And then, it has been said:

وخير لباسك ما لا يشغلك عن الله عز وجل، بل يقربك من ذكره وشكره وطاعته، ولا يحملك على العجب والرياء والتزيين والتفاخر والخيلاء فانها من آفات الدين ومورثة القسوة في القلب[290]

"And the best clothing for you is that which does not distract you from Honorable and Exalted God but instead brings you to remember, thank, and obey Him, and does not make you conceited, show off, preen, vie with each other, or be haughty, because all these are plagues on the religion, and cause hard-heartedness!"

Here, we see that Imam Ṣādiq considers the best clothing to be that which does not distract a person from God. This is a first principle from which many secondary rulings can be deduced, because all that matters with regard to clothing's genus and species, whether it is new or old, expensive or cheap, or whatever else, is that it does not distract a person from God. This is a general statement that applies to various clothing.

Some people become distracted from remembrance of God when wearing new clothing, so they should not wear it. When others wear old and shabby clothes, their attention becomes focused on its oldness and shabbiness, so they should not wear it. In other words, no

matter whether the distraction is by fineness or by shabbiness, it is still distraction from [concentrating on] God!

Clothing should be normal, and make no difference to and not distract the wearer when worn, irrespective of whether it is old or new, undamaged or shabby, because distraction for either reason is reprehensible.

Via corrective deduction of the indubitable *ratio legis* we can infer that:

خير معاشك ما لا يشغلك عن الله، وخير دار سكناك ما لا يشغلك عن الله، وخير رفيقك من لا يشغلك عن الله، وخير زوجتك من لا تشغلك عن الله، وخير بنيك من لا يشغلونك عن الله، وخير وطنك، وخير عمرك، وخير علمك، وخير عملك، وهلم جراً!

The best livelihood for you is whichever does not distract you from God. The best housing is whichever does not distract you from God. The best friend you can have is one who does not distract you from God. The best wife you can have is someone who does not distract you from God. The best children you can have are those who do not distract you from God. The best country..., best life..., best knowledge..., and best work you can have...and so on...

Muḥaddith Qummī relates that Shaykh Ibrāhīm Bījorī, author of a commentary on *al-Shamā'il al-Muhammadiyyah*, says about God's Messenger's clothing:

The Chosen One (Muṣṭafā) used to prefer ragged clothes, and his clothes were mostly coarse. He did not wear just one kind of clothes; he wore all kinds. He did not have a desire for the finest, and instead contented himself with the basic. However, he would occasionally wear finery. He was once given vestments as a gift bought [in exchange] for thirty-three camels or she-camels, and he wore it once...

...The early Muslims followed the Prophet's shabby clothes, to show contempt for what God says is contemptible—idle people competing with each other in looking good and clothing. Now, however, hearts have become hardened, and the heedless use shabbiness as a snare for worldly gain, so the opposite is now true.

A shabbily dressed man criticized Shādhilī for wearing smart clothes, and Shādhilī told him: "That man! My appearance says: 'Praise be to God,' but, your appearance says: 'Give me!'"

Nahj al-Balāghah says that the Master of the Faithful was seen wearing an old patched loincloth, so he was asked about it, and he answered: "The heart feels humble because of it, the soul becomes submissive through it, and the believers are guided by it."

A narration on the authority of Imam Ṣādiq says:

> The Master of the Faithful's long overshirt only reached to above his ankles, his loincloth to halfway up his shank, and his mantle only up to his pectorals in front, and down to his buttocks at the back. He had bought them all for one dinar. When he put them on, he raised his hands up to Heaven and kept praising God for what He had clothed him with, until he reached home. He then said: "This clothing is what all Muslims should wear."[291]

Obviously emulating these great men and following the Exalted God's great Friends' traditions is so beneficial for happiness in this world and the Hereafter. Deviating from this straight path leads to mankind's falling into the rotten marshland of opinions and drowning there, till hope of his ever getting out of it seems remote!

We read in *Nahj al-Balāghah* that the Master of the Faithful spoke about a number of prophets, such as Moses, David, and Jesus. He then enjoins emulating God's Messenger, and repeats his enjoinment to do so.

He begins by saying:

ولقد كان في رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: كاف لك في الاسوة، ودليل لك على ذم الدنيا وعيبها وكثرة مخازيها ومساويها.

"Certainly there was in God's Messenger a sufficient example for you, and proof to you of the fault and defect in the world and its many disgraces and evils!"

He says after explaining some of God's Messenger's ways:

فأسّ بنبيك الاطيب الاطهر صلى الله عليه وآله: فان فيه اسوة لمن تأسّى وعزاء لمن تعزى، واحب العباد الى الله المتأسّي بنبيه والمقتص لاثره.

"So, follow your purest, cleanest Prophet because there is in him an example for whoever follows and a consolation for whoever seeks consolation. The dearest servant to God is whoever follows the Prophet's example and follows in his footsteps."

After explaining God's Messenger's life and times, his humility, submissiveness, modesty, and renouncement of the world and its finery—which he kept away even from his heart and eye and did not even like to talk about—he states:

ولقد كان في رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ما يدلك على مساوئ الدنيا وعيوبها، اذ جاع مع خاصته وزويت عنه زخارفها مع عظيم زلفته، فلينظر ناظر بعقله، أكرم الله بذلك محمدا ام اهانه؟!

فان قال: اهانه فقد كذب والعظيم، وان قال: اكرمه فليعلم ان الله قد اهان غيره حيث بسط الدنيا له، وزواها عن اقرب الناس منه.

فنأسى متأس بنبيه، واقتص اثره، وولج موليجه، والا فلا يأمن الهلكة، فان الله جعل محمدا صلى الله عليه وآله علما للساعة، ومبشرا بالجنة ومنذرا بالعقوبة.[292]

Certainly there is in God's Messenger that which shows you the world's evils and defects because he would go hungry along with his close friends, and despite his greatly privileged position the allurements of the world remained remote from him.

Now, a ponderer should consider in his mind, did God honor Muhammad thereby or demean him?! If he says He demeaned him, he is lying, by [God] the Great. If he says He honored him, he should know that God has demeaned any other by laying out the world for him and keeping it away from the closest person to Him.

Therefore, a follower of example should follow His Prophet's, tread in his footsteps, and enter wherever he has entered. Otherwise he will not be safe from ruin because God has made Muhammad a sign of the Hour, a bringer of the glad tidings of Heaven, and a warner about punishment.

We read what the Transcendent says in the Qur'an:

لَقَدْ كَانَ لَكُمْ فِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ أُسْوَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ لِمَنْ كَانَ يَرْجُو اللَّهَ وَالْيَوْمَ الْآخِرَ وَذَكَرَ اللَّهَ كَثِيرًا.

Certainly you have in God's Messenger a good example for whoever hopes in God and the Last Day, and remembers God much (33:21).

To summarize the above, God's Messenger was a good example to follow, both in all affairs—worldly and those pertaining to the Hereafter—outward and inward, individual and societal, clothing and housing, nutrition, marriage, war, and peace.

As long as Muslims follow this true signpost endowed with the truth in these matters, their felt cap is simple, their turban is on their head, their clothes are loose and not short, their furnishing is simple and not elaborate, and their houses and families follow suit, their life will be good, comfortable, unworried, and calm, and they will live their lives in good health, both physical and spiritual, dignity, confidence, conviction, and belief!

It was when the West dominated the Muslims that their old customs were lost.

They began wearing bowler hats, and wearing ties and belts that together form a Christian cross, and began wearing tight, short clothes that only reached their waists, such that when they bent forwards, their bodies were exposed! Instead of wearing loincloths and mantles, they began wearing jackets and trousers,[293] and shaving their beards, and both men and women started to imitate the unbelievers' customs, tailoring their clothes to follow their styles and fashions. And instead of wearing silver, turquoise, and chalcedony rings on their right hands, they began wearing gold rings on their left hands. They began wearing the clothes of vassals and prisoners of war, enslaved and subjugated by the ideological control imposed by non-Muslim governments upon them. They then lost all that happiness, all for nothing, scattering the soil of humiliation, destitution, hardship, and straitened servile lives and livelihood over their heads with their own hands!

In what nation, jurisprudential school, way, religion, reason, or clear conscience does a man allow himself to shave his beard every day! Is there any mention of any benefit in so doing in books on medicine? Is there any sign of it in books on etiquette? Is there any mention of the advantages of doing so in books on economy? And according to which logic and law does a man allow himself to wear such tight, short clothes and be afflicted with various illnesses?! Is wearing neckties, belts, and crosses rational and logical, when the Christians used to put them on their stomachs before crusades, and then started wearing them around their necks after that! In Islam, wearing them is unlawful. It is exclusively non-Muslim clothing, and invalidates prayer.

Is there any evidence in support of wearing gold rings? Indubitably, it is unlawful for men, and without a doubt it invalidates prayer. Are these beautiful precious gemstones that Islam has approved, such as turquoise, ruby, carnelian, pearl, chrysolite, and emerald, when set in silver rings, not better than gold rings? How can a man allow himself to follow, blindly, the alien manners and customs

of those who have neither culture, religion, nobility, virtue, knowledge, piety, or protectiveness of decency?!

Is this verse not enough to give them awareness:

لقد كان لكم في رسول الله اسوة حسنة لمن كان يرجو الله واليوم الآخر

Certainly you have in God's Messenger a good example for him who hopes in God and the Last Day (33:21)? Yes, praise be to God, it is enough. Nowadays, we see clever youths ignore what their uneducated and colonized forefathers used to do, and even mock their lifestyle. Instead they meticulously follow pure Islam! They find no hurdle to keep them back on the straight path that they are following. They are ready to overcome any alien rules and customs, and in this way, they come closer to the Prophet's goal. They drink from the heavenly cup, draw towards that straight path and basic program for life, and aim towards that reality, to reach those pure truths, erasing every day spurious considerations and meaningless ideas and illusions!

شكر الله مساعيهم الجميلة وبلغهم غاية مناهم على النهجة المرضية

May God thank their handsome efforts and let them reach their goal on the pleasing path.

The Prophet used to wear a turban, and sometimes a fez (*qalansuvah*)[294] or mitre (*burṭulah*).[295] The best head-gear is the turban (*ʿamāmah*), which he would praise, and call the crown of the angels, or the crown of the Arabs.

In *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Majlisī says:

> He wore fezzes (*qalānis*) under turbans, wore fezzes without turbans and turbans without fezzes. He would wear a mitre and wear Tayhi Yemeni or white Egyptian (another edition says quilted) fezzes, and in battle, he wore fezzes that covered his ears, including green teak (*sāj*)[296] ones.
>
> Very often, God's Messenger would take off the *qalansuvah* and use it as a *sutrah* in front of him, praying towards it.[297]
>
> He often wore a black fur turban, both when traveling and when not, or wound a piece of cloth around his head without turning a portion of it under his chin (*yaʿtajir iʿtijāran*). Perhaps he did not have a turban, and instead wrapped his head or forehead with a kerchief. He would often be seen with a kerchief wrapped around his head or forehead.
>
> He had a turban that he used to wear called the trailing garment (*al-saḥāb*), which he later put on Ali, and Ali may have appeared in it. The Prophet would then say: "Ali has come to you in the *saḥāb*!"

> And Ayishe said: "God's Messenger put on a woolen robe and a woolen turban. He then went out to deliver a sermon atop the pulpit. I have not seen anything finer created by God than him wearing it."[298]

On Ghadīr Day, God's Messenger wound the turban around Ali's head; it was because of Ali's appointment as Caliph, Imam, and Master. On that day, God's Messenger's successor was designated, the titles of Master, ruler, and successor were conferred upon him, and the responsibilities of government passed to Ali. Of course there had to be a coronation, but not like one for tyrannical kings or despotic sultans who fashion chalcedony, ruby, and pearls out of widows' and orphans' tears, and deprived orphans' groans, setting them in their gold crowns!

It was not this kind of coronation, but instead a landmark of the true, divinely appointed Imamate's pride, honor, and virtue, and the supreme, rightful succession designated by the Lord. The noblest Messenger, the seal of the honored ambassadors, and the best of the prophets and apostles called his only successor who was like himself and worthy of that position and station. He wound around [Ali's] head his own turban, known as *al-saḥāb*, which had two ends: a shorter one trailing down the front and the other longer one trailing down the back. That turban was wound several times around Ali's head and thus became the crown of honor and symbol of Guardianship. That turban was the *saḥāb* turban that was unique to the Prophet, like a ring with a ringstone that a King takes off and puts on his successor's finger, or like a crown that he takes off and puts on the head of his heir apparent, or like a mantle or cloak that he takes off and drapes over him. All these are signs of the appointment.

Among the Arabs, turbans have always been respected and venerated, worn by noblemen and chiefs, like the crowns worn by Persian kings.

Ibn Athīr Jazarī Majd al-Dīn quotes a hadith from Qatādah, from God's Messenger: "Turbans are the crowns of the Arabs." He then says by way of commentary: "*Tījān* is the plural of *tāj* (crown), i.e. that which is made out of gold and jewels for kings. When you say: '*Wa qad tawwajtuhu*,' it means that you crowned him. God's Messenger means that turbans for the Arabs are equivalent to kings' crowns because they are mostly bareheaded or wear fezzes in the deserts. Turbans are rare among them."[299]

Suyūṭī relates in *al-Jāmiᶜ al-Ṣaghīr* that God's Messenger said:

العمائم تيجان العرب، فاذا وضعوا العمائم وضعوا عزهم.[300]

"Turbans are the Arabs' crowns, so when they take them off, they take away their nobility." Suyūṭī relates this tradition from the Master of the Faithful and considers it to be an authentic hadith.

And ᶜAbd al-Raʾūf Manāwī writes in his commentary on *al-Jāmiᶜ al-Ṣaghīr* that God's Messenger stated:

العمائم تيجان العرب اذا وضعوها وضع الله عزهم.[301]

"Turbans are the Arabs' crowns. When they take them off, God takes away their nobility."

Zubaydī says in *Tāj al-ᶜArūs*: "*Tāj* means crown, silver, or turban. The latter is metaphorical. The plural is either *tījān* or *atwāj*. The Arabs call the turban a crown." He then cites the prophetic hadith, and the aforementioned quote from Jazarī in *al-Nihāyah*. Thereafter, he says: "*Tawwajahu* means: 'He appointed him as the chief and invested him with the turban.'"[302]

Under the entry for article *ᶜ-m-m*, Zubaydī says:

> *ᶜImāmah* is a metonym for a chainmail helmet (*mighfar*) and iron helmet (*bayḍah*).[303] Our Shaykh says:
>
> > One author of a commentary on *al-Shamāʾil* [says *ᶜamāmah*] but this is wrong. The root meaning is that which is wrapped around the head. The plural is *ᶜamāʾim* or *ᶜimām*. Metaphorically, "He was invested with the turban" (*ᶜummima*) means he was made chief, because turbans are the Arabs' crowns. Wherever it would be said of non-Arab that he was crowned (*tuwwija*), it would be said of an Arab that he was invested with the turban (*ᶜummima*). As the poet says:
> >
> > وفيهم اذ عمم المعمم
> >
> > "And among them when the investor of the turban invested." Whenever [the Arabs] made a man chief, they would invest him with a red turban (*ᶜimāmah ḥamrāʾ*). Persians would crown their kings, who would then be said to be crowned (*mutawwaj*), whereas the Arabs would say "turbaned" (*muᶜammam*). *ᶜAmmama raʾsahu* means the turban was wrapped around his head, like [the passive] *ᶜumma*.[304]

Shaykh Shiblanjī says: One of the Prophet's titles is *Ṣāḥib al-Tāj* (The Bearer of the Crown). Crown

التاج

means turban; because as the hadith says: "Turbans (*al-ᶜamāʾim*) are the crowns (*tījān*) of the Arabs."[305]

Thus on Ghadīr Day, God's Messenger turbaned Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib in this particular style to give expression to his importance and greatness, crowning him with this crown or diadem, winding the *saḥāb* turban around [Ali's] head with his blessed hand. That was after he appointed him as successor and stated: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master," gave him the title of "The Master of the Faithful," and designated him as Master over those people. He commanded his companions and wives to congratulate him and to greet him as Master (*Amīr*) by saying: "Peace be upon you, O Master of the Faithful." In so doing at that huge gathering, he wanted to show that [Ali] was Master, Guardian, and governor, just like God's Messenger, the only difference being that God's Messenger was the root and Ali was the branch—Ali was the Deputy of the Prophet.

Shaykh al-Islam Ḥamwīnī, after relating two narrations on Ghadīr Khumm and quoting Ḥassān Ibn Thābit's poetry, narrates via his unbroken chain from Abū Rāshid that Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib said:

قال رسول الله: ان الله ايدنى يوم بدر وحنين بملائكة معتمين هذه العمامة والعمامة [هى] الحاجز بين المسلمين والمشركين قاله عليه السلام لعلى لما عممه يوم غدير خم بعمامة سدل طرفها على منكبه[306]

"God's Messenger said: 'At the Battles of Badr and Ḥunayn, God supported me with His angels, turbaned with this turban, and the turban is what separates Muslims from polytheists." He said this on Ghadīr Khumm Day while investing him with own turban, draping the end of it over his shoulder.'"

Via another chain, Ḥamwīnī also relates another narration from Aḥmad Ibn ʿĪsā Ibn ʿAbdillāh, known as Abū Ṭāhir, from his father, from his grandfather, from [Imam] Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad, who said:

حدثنى ابى عن جدى: ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله عمم على بن أبى طالب عليه السلام عمامته السحاب، فارخاها من بين يديه ومن خلفه، ثم قال: اقبل فاقبل ثم قال [له]: ادبر فادبر [ف] قال: هكذا جاءتنى الملائكة[307]

"My father related to me from my grandfather that God's Messenger invested Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib with his *saḥāb* turban, letting it hang down his front and back, and then said: 'Face forward,' so Ali did so. He then said: 'Turn around,' and Ali turned around. Then, [the Prophet] said: 'The angels came to me this way.'"

Ḥamwīnī narrates via another chain from Abū Rāshid Ḥarrānī, quoting Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as saying:

عممنی رسول الله صلی الله علیه و آله یوم غدیر خم بعمامة فسدل طرفها علی منکبی، وقال: ان الله ایدنی یوم بدر و حنین بملائکة معتمین بهذه العمامة.[308]

"On Ghadīr Khumm Day, God's Messenger invested me with a turban, draping the end of it over my shoulder, and he said: 'At the Battles of Badr and Ḥunayn, God supported me with angels wearing such turbans.'"

And ᶜAllāmah Amīnī says:

Ḥāfiẓ ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Abī Shaybah, Abū Dāwūd Ṭayālisī, Ibn Manīᶜ Baghawī, and Abū Bakr Bayhaqī relate as per *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl* that Ali said:

عممنی رسول الله صلی الله علیه و آله یوم غدیر خم بعمامة فسدلها خلفی (وفی لفظ: فسدل طرفها علی منکبی) ثم قال: ان الله امدنی یوم بدر و حنین بملائکة یعتمون هذه العمة وقال: ان العمامة حاجزة بین الکفر و الایمان.[309]

"On the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, the Prophet invested me with a turban, draping it behind me (and in another version draping it over my shoulder), and then said: 'At the Battles of Badr and Ḥunayn, God aided me with angels wearing such turbans.' Then, [the Prophet] said: 'The turban separates disbelief from belief.'"

Amīnī then says:

In *al-Simṭ al-Majid*, Sayyid Aḥmad Qashāshī relates this narration via Suyūṭī on the authority of the four luminaries. *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl* says, quoting ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Shukhayr's *Musnad*, quoting ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Baḥrānī, quoting his brother, ᶜAbd al-Aᶜlā Ibn ᶜAdī:

ان رسول الله صلی الله علیه و آله دعا علی بن ابی طالب فعممه وارخی عذبة العمامة من خلفه. (الدیلمی).

"God's Messenger called Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and invested him with a turban, draping (*wa arkhā*) the end (*ᶜadhabah*) of the turban behind him." (Daylamī)

Ḥāfiz Daylamī narrates on the authority of Ibn ᶜAbbās:

قال: لما عمم رسول الله صلی الله علیه و آله علیا بالسحاب، قال له: یا علی العمائم تیجان العرب.

"He said: 'When God's Messenger invested Ali with the *saḥāb* turban, he told him: "O Ali, turbans are the crowns of the Arabs."'"

Ibn Shādhān says in his list of teachers (*Mashyakhah*) on the authority of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib:

ان النبي صلى الله عليه و آله عممه بيده فذنب العمامة من ورآئه ومن بين يديه ثم قال له النبي صلى الله عليه و آله: ادبر فادبر. ثم قال له: اقبل فاقبل. واقبل على اصحابه فقال النبي صلى الله عليه و آله: هكذا تكون تيجان الملائكة

The Prophet with his own hand invested him with the turban, draping the turban behind him and in front of him. The Prophet then said to him: "Turn around," so he turned around. Then he said: "Face [me]," so he faced [him].

The Prophet turned to his companions and said: "The angels' crowns are like this."

Ḥāfiz Abū Nuᶜaym says in *Maᶜrifat al-Ṣaḥābah*, and Muḥibb al-Dīn Ṭabarī says in *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah* on the authority of ᶜAbd al-Aᶜlā Ibn ᶜAdī al-Nahrawānī:

ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله دعا عليا يوم غدير خم فعممه وارخى عذبة العمامة من خلفه

"On the day of Ghadīr Khumm, God's Messenger called Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and invested him with the turban, draping the end of the turban behind him."

ᶜAllāmah Zarqānī relates this narration in *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib*.[310]

Mawlā Ali Muttaqī Hindī quotes some prophetic hadiths on the excellence of the turban, one of which is Bāvardī's, from Rikānah:

العمامة على القلنسوة فصل مابيننا وبين المشركين، يعطى يوم القيامة بكل كورة يدورها على رأسه نورا.

"A turban round the fez is the difference between us and the unbelievers. And a light is given on the Day of Resurrection for every turn of it around the head."

Ṭabarānī's *al-Muᶜjam al-Kabīr* says on the authority of Ibn ᶜAbbās, and from Ṭabarānī [himself] quoting Usāmah: "Wear turbans. You will become more clement."

Bayhaqī says in *Shuᶜab al-Īmān* on the authority of Khālid Ibn Maᶜdān without a full chain of narration (*mursal*): "Wear turbans! Be different from the nations before you."

Daylamī says on the authority of Jābir in *Musnad al-Firdaws*:

ركعتان بعمامة خير من سبعين ركعة بلا عمامة.

"Two *rakᶜahs* while wearing a turban are better than seventy *rakᶜahs* without a turban."

Ibn ᶜAsākir says on the authority of ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Omar:

صلوة تطوع او فريضة بعمامة تعدل خمسا وعشرين صلاة بلا عمامة وجمعة بعمامة تعدل سبعين جمعة بلا عمامة.

"A supererogatory or obligatory prayer with a turban on is equivalent to twenty-five prayers without a turban. A Friday prayer with a turban on is equivalent to seventy Friday prayers without a turban."

Ṭabarānī quotes Ibn Omar, and Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-Īmān* quotes ᶜIbādah as saying:

عليكم بالعمائم، فانها سيما الملائكة وارخوا لها خلف ظهوركم.

"You should wear turbans, because they are the trademark of the angels, and drape them behind your backs."

ائتوا المساجد حسرا ومعصبين، فان العمائم تيجان المسلمين.[311]

"Enter the mosques bareheaded or with your heads covered, because turbans are crowns for Muslims."

And Daylamī quotes ᶜImrān Ibn Ḥaṣīn as saying:

العمائم وقار للمؤمن، وعز للعرب، فاذا وضعت العرب عمائمها وضعت عزها.

"Turbans are gravitas for believers and nobility for the Arabs; when the Arabs take off their turbans, they lose their nobility!"

Daylamī also quotes Rikānah as saying:

لا تزال امتي على الفطرة ما لبسوا العمائم على القلانس.[312]

"My nation will remain inherently religious (*ᶜalā al-fiṭrah*) as long as they wear turbans over fezzes."

Indeed, as we have seen in numerous narrations, it is strongly recommended for Muslims to wear turbans. It is their pride and dignity. They cause prayer to be accepted and to earn many times more reward, because this headgear is the Prophet's and the Master of the Faithful's. However, we should realize the turban to which the pure shariᶜa refers is not like the turbans that are common today, because they are not wrapped around more than twice or three times, and secondly, the ends should be draped down the front and back, not tucked in.

It is recommended at all times, but especially when praying, during the Friday or Eid sermon, to wear a loose cloak (*ridāʾ*) over the

shoulders. Loose cloaks are not the same as the wraps (*abā'ah*) worn nowadays. Instead, they are beautiful vestments, the clothing of pilgrim sanctity, draped over the shoulders. We wish the original, authentic, Islamic customs would return once people lend their support to the true essences of Islam!

How clever and astute non-Muslim colonialism was in advancing on the Muslims because it devised a pressing cultural and behavioral conspiracy, and used torture and imprisonment. The first thing it did was to take turbans off people's heads. Turbans never used to be exclusive to jurists and scholars. On the contrary, everyone from various classes would wear them, either wound around fezzes (*ṭarbūsh*) or without a fez.

Colonialism took the people to the commissariat, stripped them of their turbans, ripped away their loose cloaks, stripped them of their wraps, and told them: "Everyone has to wear a uniform!" But what kind of uniform? A European uniform! Put on bowler-hats and wear suits. In government offices, daily shaving became compulsory, as did wearing belts and ties!

They would say that human dignity lies not in what one wears, but rather in knowledge; knowledge is knowledge wherever it may be, and a learned man is a learned man no matter what he wears.

They were wrong, and deceived people! Human dignity lies in the Prophet's clothing, and the form that the Master of the Faithful's turban took. If a scholar dresses like the Prophet, he is a religious scholar. Non-Muslim clothing represents the non-Muslim school, atheism, and deviation. Every country's army is recognized by its uniforms and badges. In the Pahlavid era, when they used to take people's turbans off, a scholar in Tabriz said:

> One day the Chief of Police came to my house to tell me to take my turban off, but I refused. He told me: "Your Eminence, Sayyid, knowledge has nothing to do with the turban and vestments. Nor does it make any difference to a person's character whether he wears a turban or not, so what use is there in a turban?" I replied: "We did not use to think that the turban had any effect on a person's character or knowledge, and that a scholar is a scholar no matter what he wears, but now, because of your insistence that we take them off, we are not so sure. You may even have convinced us that turbans do make a palpable difference, so we are now determined to save them."

Praise be to God, it is quite another story now!

In any case, we now conclude our discussion on Ghadīr Khumm, which we tried not to be remiss in. Next, God willing, we shall begin

a new discussion in this series titled *Knowing the Imams*. Praise be to God, first and last, and our final prayer is: Praise be to God, Lord of all worlds.

Concluded late in the afternoon of the twentieth of the Prophet's birth month of Rabīᶜ, one thousand, four hundred six, in the Holy City of Mashhad.

[1] ᶜAllāmah Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Husayn al-Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ᶜArabī, 1397 AH), vol. 4, pp. 392–93.
[2] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib* (n.p., lithograph, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 524.
[3] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 457; in the source, line 5 says *taghashrama* with a *ghayn*. *Al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, p. 392, cites verbatim from the source without correcting it. However, there is no entry for this word in lexicons such as Saᶜīd al-Khūrī al-Shartūnī al-Lubnānī, *Aqrab al-Mawārid fī Fuṣḥ al-ᶜArabiyyah wa al-Shawārid* (Beirut: Maṭbaᶜat Mursalī al-Yasūᶜiyyah, 1889); Abū Naṣr Ismāᶜīl Ibn Ḥammād al-Jawharī, *Tāj al-Lughah wa Ṣiḥāḥ al-ᶜArabiyyah Ṣiḥāḥ al-Lughah* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaᶜat al-ᶜĀmirah, 1282 AH); Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Muhammad Ibn Mukarram Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ᶜArab* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir Dar Beirut, 1374–76 AH), and Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn Muhammad al-Ṭurayḥī, *Majmaᶜ al-Baḥrayn* (Najaf: Dār al-Thiqāfah, 1381 AH). The word must be *taghashshama* ("he oppressed") or *taghashmara* ("he took something by force"). This must have been a copyist's error. The word intended is most likely to have been *taᶜashrama*. As Muhammad Ibn Yaᶜqūb Fayrūz-Ābādī says in his dictionary, *Qāmūs al-Lughah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmiyyah), *ᶜashram* means rough or hard, so *taᶜashrama* must be derived from that, meaning he became hard or severe, he prevailed and appropriated.

Ibn Ḥammād tells the same story in one of his own odes according to Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 1, p. 457:

وَمَنْ نَاجَاهُ ثُعْبَانٌ عَظِيمٌ بِبَابِ الظَّهْرِ أَلْقَتْهُ السَّحَابُ
رَآهُ النَّاسُ فَانْخَفَلُوا بِرُعْبٍ وَاغْلِقَتِ الْمَسَالِكُ وَالرِّحَابُ
فَلَمَّا أَنْ دَنَا مِنْهُ عَلِيٌّ تَدَانَى النَّاسُ وَانْحَشَدَ الْحِجَابُ
فَكَلَّمَهُ عَلِيٌّ مُسْتَطِيلًا فَأَقْبَلَ لَا يَخَافُ وَلَا يَهَابُ
وَرَنَّا رَنَّةً وَانْسَابَ فِيهِ يَقُولُ وَقَدْ تَسَتَّرَهُ الثِّيَابُ
أَنَا مَلِيكٌ مُسِخْتُ وَأَنْتَ مَوْلَى دُعَاؤُكَ إِنْ مَنَنْتَ بِهِ عُجَابُ
أَتَيْتُكَ تَائِبًا فَاشْفَعْ إِلَى مَنْ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ جِنَايَتِيَ الْمَتَابُ
فَأَقْبَلَ دَاعِيًا وَأَنَى أَخُوهُ يُؤَمِّنُ فِي الدُّعَاءِ لَهُ انْسِكَابُ

فَلَمّا أن أجيبَ أظَلَّ يَعلُو كَما يَعلُو لَدَى الجَوِّ العُقابُ
نَبَتهُ بِريشِ طاووسٍ عَلَيهِ جَواهِرُ زانَها التِبرُ المُذابُ
يَقولُ لَقَد نَجَوتُ بِأهلِ بَيتٍ بِهِم يُصلَى لَظى وَبِهِم يُثابُ

And he to whom the great serpent called at the door to the pureness cast down by the clouds
The people saw and retreated in fear and the paths and inner courts were blocked off
Then, when Ali approached it, the people approached and the serpent rallied
Ali then spoke to it at length, then approached not being scared or afraid
It let out a ring and slithered into it saying, clothes having covered it:
I am a king who was transformed and you are a Master—there are wonders in your prayer if you are so kind.
I came to you repentant so intercede for me before Him to Whom my sin must be repented.
He then approached, praying, and his brother came along, saying: "Amen," in the prayer for it pouring out
Then when it was answered it started ascending as an eagle ascends into the air
Peacock feathers grew on it, jewels adorned with liquid ore.
It said: "I have been saved by a Household through whom one either roasts in a blaze or is rewarded."

[5] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 1, p. 530.

[6] Abū al-Hasan Mahyār Ibn Marzawayh Daylamī Baghdādī is one of the pillars of Arabic literature, and is considered to be on the top rung of poets in terms of the strength of his poetry. Top scholars and authors would study with him because he had hoisted the greatest banner of Arabic literature between the eastern and western horizons. Mahyār was one of the luminaries of Shiʿism, and his poetry is full of ingenious syllogism, proof, and reasoning; he was a true defender of Shiʿism in his time.

Mahyār was a Persian Zoroastrian, and as we have said, according to Abū Rashīd ʿAbd al-Jalīl Qazwīnī Rāzī, *al-Naqḍ* (*Baʿḍ Mathālib al-Nawāṣib fī Naqḍ Baʿḍ Faḍāʾiḥ al-Rawāfiḍ*) (Tehran: Chāpkhāneh Sepehr, 1378 AH), he was descended from Khusraw Anūshīrwān, the Just.

Mahyār embraced Islam at the hands of Sayyid Raḍī, who also taught him poetry and literature. He died on the twenty-fifth of Jumādā al-Ākhirah, 428 AH. Remarkably, even though Mahyār was Persian and spoke Farsi, he became so proficient in Arabic that poets who were native speakers would ask him to correct their poems. The greatest poets confirm his talent and skill in Arabic and composition. Mahyār was so much better than other poets of his time that no one could even be compared to him.

It is no surprise that someone who followed the Infallible Household, and learned from the two great Sayyids, Sayyid Raḍī and Sayyid Murtaḍā, the followers in the footsteps of Shaykh Mufid, should have achieved such a high level of faith, scholarship, and literary merit that he became the talk of both Shiᶜa and Sunni scholars contemporary to him.

There is a long entry on him in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, pp. 232–61, quoting some of his odes about the Ghadīr and the Infallible Household, as well as an ode elegizing Shaykh Mufid: Ibn al-Muᶜallim Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Nuᶜmān d. 413 AH; this ode consists of 91 verses.

[7] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 1, p. 530.

[8] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 1, p. 529.

[9] In that discussion we said that prophetic hadiths related both by Shiᶜa and Sunnis say that the Purification Verse refers exclusively to the five persons who were physically under the cloak; however, indubitable hadiths, incontrovertible consensus, and the general principle all prove that the verse does also refer to the rest of the Infallible Imams.

[10] Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilālī ᶜĀmirī Kūfī was a companion of the Master of the Faithful, and he died in about 90 AH. Both Shiᶜa and Sunni cataloguers of narrators have no doubt about his reliability and piety, and they describe him as great, upstanding, and ascetic. He wrote a book called *Kitāb Sulaym* (*The Book of Sulaym*) (Najaf: n.p., n.d.), well known to the learned, and narrated from by both Shiᶜa and Sunnis. There is a narration on the authority of Imam Ṣādiq that says:

مَنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ عِنْدَهُ مِن شِيعَتِنَا وَمُحِبِّينَا كِتَابُ سُلَيْمِ بْنِ قَيْسٍ الْهِلَالِيِّ فَلَيْسَ عِنْدَهُ مِن أَمْرِنَا شَيْءٌ وَلَا يَعْلَمُ مِن أَسْبَابِنَا شَيْئاً وَهُوَ أَبْجَدُ الشِّيعَةِ، وَهُوَ سِرٌّ مِنْ أَسْرَارِ آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

"Whoever among our followers (*shīᶜah*) or among those who love us does not have Sulaym Ibn Qays al-Hilālī's book does not have any of our affair and knows nothing of our means. He is the most knowledgeable of the Shiᶜa and is one of Muhammad's Family's secrets."

In this book, he narrates from the Master of the Faithful, Salmān, Miqdād, Abū Dharr, and similar companions to God's Messenger, without any intermediary; he would first show whatever he narrated from the companions to others to corroborate it. Sulaym was a contemporary of the Master of the Faithful, Imam Hasan, Imam Husayn, Imam Sajjād, and Imam Bāqir. He once traveled to Medina, to present these narrations to Imam Sajjād and Imam Bāqir to check and endorse them. When Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf Thaqafī came to Iraq he persecuted him, but Sulaym escaped and went to Abān Ibn Abī ᶜAyyāsh. Abān gave him shelter, and Sulaym stayed with him until he died. Sulaym gave his book to Abān, licensing him to narrate it to reliable Shiᶜa narrators and hadith memorizers. Thus, everything narrated by Abān from Sulaym is from that book. Sulaym's book is considered to be a fundamental Shiᶜa text; early Shiᶜa and Sunni traditionists would rely on it.

Early Shiᶜa scholars narrate from Sulaym in books such as *Ithbāt al-Rajᶜah, al-Iḥtijāj, ᶜUyūn al-Muᶜjizāt, Man Lā Yaḥḍuruhu al-Faqīh, Baṣāʾir al-Darajāt, al-Kāfī, al-Khiṣāl, Tafsīr Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm, Tafsīr Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbbās Ibn Māhyār,* and *al-Durr al-Naẓīm fī Manāqib al-Aʾimmat al-Lahāmīm.* Senior Sunni scholars such as Ḥākim Ḥaskānī in *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl,* Imam Ḥamwīnī in *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn,* Sayyid Ali Ibn Shihāb al-Dīn Hamadānī in *Mawaddat al-Qurbā,* Qundūzī Ḥanafī in *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah,* and others also narrate from Sulaym's book.

Muhammad Ibn Isḥāq Warraq, known as Ibn Nadīm, says about Sulaym in *al-Fihrist* (Tehran University Publication, n.d.), p. 275:

> Sulaym was one of the companions of the Master of the Faithful. He fled from Ḥajjāj because he wanted to kill him and took shelter with Abān Ibn Abī ᶜAyyāsh. When his death approached, he said to Abān: "I owe you, and my death is approaching, O son of my brother! Such-and-such and such-and-such was of God's Messenger's affair!" He gave Abān a book, namely *Kitāb Sulaym.* Abān had exclusive rights to relate this book. Sulaym was a shaykh who had light; the first Shiᶜa book to appear was *Kitāb Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilālī.*

Ali Ibn Husayn Masᶜūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Sharaf al-Islāmiyyah, 1357 AH), pp. 198–99, says:

The evidential basis for the belief held by the Qaṭʿiyyah, i.e. those who do not stop at Mūsā Ibn Jaʿfar's Imamate and instead believe in all twelve Imams, is the number given by Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilālī in his book as narrated by Abān Ibn Abī ʿAyyāsh: the Prophet said to Ali: "You and twelve of your children are the rightful Imams." And no one except Sulaym has related this hadith. Their awaited Imam as of the date of our book [*al-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf*] is Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Mūsā Ibn Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, may God be pleased with all of them. (SR: *al-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf* does indeed say so but the only occurrences of the words

من ولدك

(of your children/from your offspring) in *Kitāb Sulaym* are the following:

i) p. 132: What the Prophet said to Fāṭimah on his deathbed:

وانت اول من يلحقني من اهلي. ثم اطلع الى الارض اطلاعة ثلاثة فاختارك واحد عشر رجلا من ولدك وولد اخي بعلك منك.

"And you will be the first of my family to join me. He then looked down onto the earth a third time and chose you and eleven men from your offspring, my brother's offspring by you."

ii) p. 184:

ثم اقبل على الحسين عليه السلام فقال: سيولد لك (محمد بن علي) في حياتك فأقرأه مني السلام. ثم تكملة الاثني عشر إماما من ولدك يا أخي.

"He then turned to Husayn and said to him: 'There will born from your line within your lifetime Muhammad Ibn Ali, so pass on my greeting to him. Then the completion of the twelve Imams is from your offspring, brother.'"

iii) p. 255: A monk's words to Ali upon the monk's becoming a Muslim:

وابرء من عدوك واتولى الاحد عشر الائمة من ولدك وابرء من عدوهم ممن خالفهم وبرء منهم وادعى حقهم وظلمهم من الاولين والآخرين.

"And I disassociate myself from your enemy, accept the eleven Imams from your offspring, and disassociate myself from their enemy, and from whoever of the first and last disobeys them and disassociates himself from them, claims their right and wrongs them."

iv) p. 309: Imam Ali's words to Muʿāwiyah:

وان رجلا من ولدك مشوم ملعون

"And that a cursed, inauspicious man from your offspring..."

Thus the phrase attributed to Sulaym in *al-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf* does not appear. No. ii) above can be understood as there being twelve Imams in total and that the number completes from Ali's line after Ali, not that there are twelve further Imams from Ali's line. Furthermore i) and iii) as recorded in the same book are abundantly clear.

Kitāb Sulaym (Qom: Nashr al-Hadi, 1415 AH), vol. 2, p. 857, hadith 45, does, however, contain a copyist's error:

الا وان الله نظر الى اهل الارض نظرة فاختار منهم رجلين: احدهما انا فبعثني رسولا ونبيا، والآخر علي بن ابي طالب واوحى الي ان اتخذه اخا وخليلا ووزيرا ووصيا وخليفة.

الا وانه ولي كل مؤمن بعدي، من والاه والاه الله ومن عاداه عاداه الله. لا يحبه الا مؤمن ولا يبغضه الا كافر. هو زر الارض بعدي وسكنها، وهو كلمة الله التقوى وعروته الوثقى (يريدون ان يطفئوا نور الله بأفواههم والله متم نوره ولو كره الكافرون).

الا وان الله نظر نظرة ثانية فاختار بعدنا إثني عشر وصيا من اهل بيتي، فجعلهم خيار امتي واحدا بعد واحد مثل النجوم في السماء، كلما غاب نجم طلع نجم.

Lo! Surely God took one look at the people of earth and chose from them two men: one of them was I, and He sent me as a Messenger and a Prophet, and the other was Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. He revealed to me to take him as a brother, friend, aide, executor, and successor.

Lo! Surely he is the Master of every believer after me. God will love whoever accepts him as Master and God will hate whoever hates him. No one but a believer loves him, and no one but an unbeliever hates him. He it is upon whom the earth depends and relies after me. He is God's word of piety and the indissoluble bond. *Fain would they put out the light of God with their mouths, but God will perfect His light however much the disbelievers are averse* (61:8).

Lo! Surely God took as second look and chose after us twelve executors from my Household, and made them the best of my nation, one after the

other like the stars in the sky. Whenever one of them disappears, another one rises.

Various explanations have been suggested by scholars. One is that the twelve executors after the Prophet and Imam Ali include Fāṭimah al-Zahrā'. Alternatively it is a copyists' error, particularly in view of the fact that the first person possessive pronominal suffix is used twice thereafter in the same sentence. The original hadith presumably said "after me" (*baʿdī*) and not "after us" (*baʿdanā*), or said eleven (*aḥad ʿashar*) and not twelve (*ithnā ʿashar*) executors. A third explanation is that it does not explicitly state that there are twelve Imams after the Prophet and Imam Ali and there are numerous references elsewhere in *Kitāb Sulaym* to twelve Imams in total (24 references according to the critical edition's reckoning—*Kitāb Sulaym* (Qom: Nashr al-Hadi, 1415 AH), vol.1, pp.173–80). See the long discussion in *Kitāb Sulaym* (Qom: Nashr al-Hadi, 1415 AH), vol. 1, pp. 180–86 for these explanations and assessment thereof.

Qāḍī Badr al-Dīn Sabkī says in *Maḥāsin al-Wasā'il fī Maʿrifat al-Awā'il*: "The first book to be written for the Shiʿa was *Kitāb Sulaym Ibn Qays al-Hilālī*."

[12] *al-Manāqib* (lithograph), vol. 1, p. 530.

[13] Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad Khārazmī, *al-Manāqib* (Najaf: al-Maṭbaʿat al-Ḥaydariyyah (lithograph), n.d.), pp. 216–17; Ibid. (Qom: Intishārāt ʿAllāmah wa al-Maṭbaʿat al-ʿIlmiyyah), pp. 221–22; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 159–60 citing Khārazmī, *al-Manāqib*.

[14] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 160

[15] *Farā'id al-Simṭayn fī Faḍā'il al-Murtaḍā wa al-Batūl wa al-Sibṭayn wa al-A'immah min Dhurriyyatihim* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Maḥmūdī, 1400 AH), vol. 1, pp. 312–18, chapter 58.

[16] SR: A pejorative term for the Shiʿa, meaning rejectionists. It was reclaimed as a badge of honor by Imam Kāẓim, who said that it meant that the Shiʿa reject falsehood.

[17] Abū ʿAbdillāh Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn al-Husayn Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr Mafātiḥ al-Ghayb* (Cairo: Dār al-Ṭibāʿat al-ʿĀmirah, n.d.), vol. 3, pp. 620–21.

[18] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 162.

[19] *Nahj al-Balāghah* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, n.d.), sermon 72.

[20] *Surā* means traveling at night. *Aʿjāz* is the plural of *ʿajz*, meaning the end of something. Thus, *aʿjāz ibil* means the end of the camel's back, which is the most difficult place to ride on. There is a saying in Arabic that translates as: "We sit on the end of the camel's back," meaning it is difficult for us; it is even more difficult to do so when traveling at night.

[21] SR: A *maʾqiṭ* is literally a place where milk is curdled to make cottage cheese and similar dairy products.

[22] ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* (Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyyah, 1378 AH), vol. 6, pp. 166–68; ibid. (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 61.

[23] A

لُحْتُوم

(*luhmūm*) is a forgiving and generous man, or heavy rain. The plural is

لَحامِيم

and

لَحامِيمُ الناس

means generous people or people's leaders. The late ʿAllāmah, Ḥājj Shaykh Āqā Buzurg Ṭahrānī (may God be pleased with him), who taught me hadiths and license to narrate, says about *al-Durr al-Naẓīm fī Manāqib al-Aʾimmat al-Lahāmīm* in *al-Dharīʿah*, vol. 8, p. 88: "This book was written by Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Ḥātim Ṭāʾī, a student of Muḥaqqiq Ḥillī's (d. 676 AH); the licensed narrator is Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs Ḥillī (d. 664 AH). This is an excellent book on its subject and quotes from Shaykh Ṣadūq, *Madīnat al-ʿIlm*, and Shaykh Ṣadūq, *al-Nubuwwah*, both of which appear to have been in his possession. ʿAllāmah Majlisī had a copy [of *al-Durr*] and he quotes from it in *Biḥār al-Anwār*. As far as I know, only three copies of *al-Durr al-Naẓīm* remain..." one in the Kubbah Library purchased by Ṭahrānī in Sāmarrāʾ. Āqā Buzurg then explains what happened to the other two.

Now, it is best to tell the following story. From the very birth of Islam many biographies been written on God's Messenger, but few on the Imams, so *al-Durr al-Naẓīm fī Manāqib al-Aʾimmat al-Lahāmīm* is rare and valuable. All but two copies of this book have been gradually lost, leaving one in Kubbah Library, which after his death passed to the library of our father's late maternal cousin, Ayatollah ʿAllāmah Āghā Mīrzā Muhammad Ṭahrānī—may God be pleased

with him—who lived in Sāmarrā'. Our father's cousin's son, His Eminence Ḥujjat al-Islam Ḥājj Mīrzā Abū al-Hasan Sharīf ʿAskarī, related to me:

> After Kubbah's passing, they wanted to put the library up for sale. My late father sent me to Kāẓimayn to purchase some of the books, including this one, and he said: "No matter how much it costs, buy this book." I went to Kāẓimayn, and at the time of sale, I bought this book for an extremely high price. I took it Sāmarrā' along with the other books that I had bought there, and it became part of my father's library. Shortly thereafter, the [Sunni] custodian of the Shrine of the ʿAskarī Imams told me: "An orientalist has come to us, is staying with us, and wants to meet your father and ask him some questions about [religious] science and books. Could you ask his permission?" I asked my father, Ayatollah Āqā Mīrzā Muhammad Ṭahrānī. He said: "No problem, tell him to come whenever he wants," so I told the custodian. The next day, the custodian of the Shrine came with that orientalist to my father's house, and they were received in my father's library where he read and wrote. They sat down together. The newcomer asked my father about [religious] sciences and books, and my father answered all his questions one by one. He then asked about *al-Durr al-Naẓīm*, its author and its features, and my father answered him in detail. [The orientalist] asked: "Do you have a copy of that book?" My father answered: "Yes, we do." He asked: "May I have a look at it?" Again my father said: "Yes." My father then told me: "Abū al-Hasan! Get up and go to shelf x and bring that book to me." I did as he said, fetched the book, and put it on the floor in front of [the orientalist]. He took the book, examined its pages, and checked its margins and then its cover, all very carefully. Then, he closed the book, put it back on the floor, and asked: "Will you sell this book?" My father answered: "No!" He persisted: "Please sell it to me and I will pay as much money as you want." My father repeated: "No, it is impossible." Once again, he persisted: "You needn't worry about its price; I will pay as much money as you ask for it." To his demand, my father said: "Do you see the size of this library? Even if you fill this room with pure gold, from top to bottom, I will not give this book away." When he heard what my father said, the man stood up with the custodian and left the house. I took the book and returned it to its place. The next day, when the custodian saw me, he told me: "This man loves this book and has come here from far away just to purchase it. They already knew that this book was part of the Late Kubbah's library, and passed to Āqā Mīrzā Muhammad Ṭahrānī's library. Therefore, by the direction of the authority in Baghdad, he had come to Sāmarrā', and thence to our house, and asked me to help him buy that book. Now, I assure you that he is prepared to pay as much as you ask for the book. Do not miss the opportunity."

To the custodian's words, I replied: "This book is honor, Islam's honor! Now, would any man sell his honor to an outsider! Would you be prepared to sell treasure and honor if the price is high enough?" He answered: "Never!" I said: "This book is more valuable than human honor because it is the religion's *shariᶜa* and Islam's honor. It is a unique manuscript." The custodian despaired of buying the book and told the orientalist. He understood how protective my father was of the religion, and realized that he would never sell the book, and so he left Sāmarrāʾ. Later on, when I informed my father of my conversation with the custodian, he said: "We have to move the book. Put it on shelf x in position y! Now he knows where it is, I would not be surprised if it were stolen by some unknown visitors to the house."

In any case, after the death of Mīrzā Dāᶜī, Āqā Mīrzā Muhammad Ṭahrānī, his heirs bequeathed the books as a religious endowment. Now the book along with many others has moved to Kāẓimayn, and the Iraqi Ministry of Archaeological Religious Endowments keeps them safe in Iraq—they cannot be taken out of the country.

[24] As per all editions; however, it should be Abū Dārim, i.e. Abū Dārim Kūfī, from whom Talᶜakbarī heard hadiths in 330 AH and is licensed to relate.

[25] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 160.

[26] Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad

[27] Shaykh Ṭūsī, *Amālī* (Najaf: lithograph, 1384 AH), p. 212. Majlis 1 ibid. (Najaf), p. 342; Majlis 12.

[28] Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, *Ṣawāᶜiq al-Muḥriqah fī al-Radd ᶜalā Ahl al-Bidaᶜ wa al-Zandaqah*, p. 75.

[29] *al-Ṣawāᶜiq al-Muḥriqah*, p. 93.

[30] *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, *Simṭ* (string) 1, pp. 312–18, chapter 58; *Kitāb Sulaym*, pp. 111–24, worded slightly differently, and with some additions; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 163–66; Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī Mūsawī, *Ghāyat al-Marām* (Tehran: Ali Qulī Khān Qājār, 1372 AH), vol. 1, pp. 136–37, hadith 41 of the status hadiths, e.g.: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses," as narrated by Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilālī; ibid., pp. 137–38, hadith 42, after the Imam's adjurement following what Ṭalḥah said.

[31] Ruḥbah is a fertile village about seven miles from Kufa. It is famous for its massive watermelons, which can weigh as much as twenty kilos and nourish the people of Najaf in the summer. Years ago, it used to be a town, but now it has fallen into ruin.

On his arrival in Kufa, the Master of the Faithful presented this argument there, at Ruḥbah. It is sometimes called Kufa's Ruḥbah to

distinguish it from other Ruḥbahs. *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilaᶜ*, vol. 2, p. 608, says that there are three places called Ruḥbah:
i) Near Qādisiyyah, about a *marḥalah* [i.e. 2 *manzils*=4 *barīds*=16 *farsakhs*] away from Kufa, to the left of *ḥajj* pilgrims heading towards Mecca. It has now all but fallen into ruin.
ii) A fertile village in a valley where acacias grow about six miles from Sanaᶜāᵓ, Yemen. There are gardens and villages there.
iii) A village between Medina and Shām in Wādī al-Qurā on the edge of Lajāt in one of the administrative districts of Ṣalkhad.

Because *ruḥbah* can also just mean wide-open unbuilt land, it could just mean that Imam Ali presented his argument in the courtyard of Kufa Mosque, or in front of his caliphal pavilion. Good evidence in support of this is what Ibn Abī al-Ḥadid says in *Sharh Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 1, p. 361, on the authority of one of his shaykhs from Baghdad:

ناشد عليٌ عليه السّلام في رُحبة القصر أو قالوا برحبة الجامع بالكوفة، أيّكم سمع رسول الله يقول: من كنت مولاهُ فعليٌ مَولاه.

"Ali adjured [the people] in the courtyard of the palace or [according] to [others] in the courtyard of Kufa Mosque: 'Who among you heard God's Messenger say: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master"?'"

[32] SR: i.e. his Caliphate as accepted by the community as a whole as opposed to his true succession, which was immediate.

[33] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* (Beirut: Dar Iḥyāᵓ al-Turāth al-ᶜArabī, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 209; ibid. (Cairo: Dar Iḥyāᵓ al-Kutub al-ᶜArabiyyah, 1378 AH), vol. 2, pp. 288–89.

[34] A biography of the Prophet by Ali Ibn Burhān al-Dīn Ḥalabī Shāfiʿī, known as *al-Sirat al-Ḥalabiyyah* (Cairo: Muhammad Ali Ṣubayḥ, 1353 AH), vol. 3, p. 308.

[35] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 184–86.

[36] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 166–83, various wordings.

[37] *Farāᵓid al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, *Simṭ* 1, ch. 10, p. 68; clearly "Whoever's Master I am, so [too] is Ali his Master" is omitted from this version.

[38] Ibid., p. 69.

[39] Abū ᶜAbdillāh Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal al-Shībānī, *Musnad Aḥmad* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir al-Makatabat al-Islāmiyyah, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 118; *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1376–94 AH), vol. 9, p. 202, citing the Shaykh's *Amālī*.

[40] Abū al-Fidāʾ al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Kathīr al-Dimashqī, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah fi al-Tārīkh* (Cairo: al-Saʿādah, 1351 AH), vol. 5, p. 210.
[41] *Musnad Aḥmad*, vol. 1, p. 119; *al-Bidāyah*, vol. 5, p. 211; Ḥāfiẓ Ali Ibn Abī Bakr Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid wa Manbaʿ al-Fawāʾid* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1967), vol. 4, p. 105, as follows: "As if I can see one of them, wearing trousers (*sārawīl*)." *Sarāwīl* is a garment that covers the lower half of the body. This wording is more likely and more eloquent.
[42] *Musnad Aḥmad*, vol. 1, p. 119; *al-Bidāyah*, vol. 5, p. 211; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, pp. 200–3 narrating the Ruḥbah Adjurement from Shaykh Ṭūsī, *Amālī*; *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā*, on the authority of ʿUmayrah Ibn Saʿd, on the authority of the Master of the Faithful.
[43] *Musnad Aḥmad*, vol. 4, p. 370; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, pp. 211–12.
[44] *Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid*, vol. 9, p. 104.
[45] The same Zayd Ibn Yuthīʿ referred to in the printed edition of Nasāʾī's book.
[46] Aḥmad Ibn Shuʿayb Nasāʾī (d. 303 AH), Aḥmad Ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī al-Shāfiʿī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ Mawlānā Amīr al-Muʾminīn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Taqaddum al-ʿIlmiyyah, n.d.), p. 26.
[47] Obviously something is missing here.
[48] Nasāʾī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, pp. 26–27.
[49] *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, pp. 22–23.
[50] ibid.
[51] ibid.
[52] Ibn Athīr Jazarī, *Usd al-Ghābah fi Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥābah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī), vol. 3, p. 307.
[53] *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 5, p. 205.
[54] Ibn Ḥajar ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣābah* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā Muhammad, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 408; ibid., vol. 4, p. 80.
[55] *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 5, pp. 275–76.
[56] *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 4, p. 159.
[57] *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 4, p. 28.
[58] *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, *Simṭ* 1, p. 69, ch. 10; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 211.
[59] Mawlā Ali Ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn Muttaqī Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl* (Hyderabad: n.p., 1378), vol. 6, p. 397.
[60] *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 5, pp. 275–76.
[61] *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, p. 542.

[62] Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad Ibn ʿAbdillāh Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ wa Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyāʾ* (Cairo: al-Khānjī & al-Saʿādah, 1351 AH), vol. 5, pp. 26–27; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 180–81; Abū al-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Wāsiṭī Shāfiʿī (Ibn Maghāzilī) relates an abridged version of this narration in *Manāqib Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib* (Tehran: Maktabah Islamiyyah, 1394 AH), p. 26, hadith 38.

[63] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 181, footnote 1.

[64] Shaykh Sulaymān Ibn Ibrāhīm Qundūzī Ḥanafi, *Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah* (Istanbul: Akhtar, 1301 AH), p. 38.

[65] i.e. "O God, be a Guardian to whoever..."

[66] Khārazmī, *al-Manāqib*, (lithograph), p. 94, ibid. (modern edition), p. 95.

[67] *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 3, p. 321.

[68] The statement attributed by Omar to the Prophet, that [Abū ʿUbaydah] is the nation's custodian does not appear in any Shiʿa books or references.

[69] Abū ʿAbdillāh Muhammad Ibn ʿAbdillāh al-Nīsabūrī (Ḥākim Nīsabūrī), *al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (*Mustadrak al-Ḥākim*) (n.p., Majlis Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-Niẓāmiyyah, 1334–43 AH), vol. 3, p. 371.

[70] Khārazmī, *al-Manāqib* (lithograph), p. 112; ibid. (modern edition), p. 115.

[71] Sibṭ Ibn Jawzī Ḥanafī, *Tadhkirat Khawāṣṣ al-Ummah* (Iran: lithograph, 1287 AH), p. 42.

[72] *Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid wa Manbaʿ al-Fawāʾid*, vol. 9, p. 107.

[73] Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn Ali (Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī), *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (Hyderabad: n.p., 1325 AH), vol. 1, p. 391.

[74] Ali Ibn al-Husayn al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Maʿādin al-Jawāhir* (Cairo: Dār al-Saʿādah, 1367 AH), vol. 2, p. 373; ibid. (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1393 AH), pp. 364–65.

[75] Abū Bakr's daughter Asmāʾ was Ayishe's sister and Zubayr's wife.

[76] A *biṭān* is the saddlestrap that fastens under a horse or mule's stomach. Both ends have hooks to fasten it. If it is not fastened, then the animal cannot be ridden. This idiom means that the situation has become very serious.

[77] *Murūj al-Dhahab* (Dār al-Saʿādah), vol. 2. pp. 371–72.

[78] *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, pp. 272–73.

[79] Aḥmad Ibn Abī Yaʿqūb, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir-Dār Beirut, 1379 AH), vol. 2, p. 182.

[80] *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 373.

[81] Ali Ibn ʿĪsā Irbilī, *Kashf al-Ghummah fi Maʿrifat al-Aʾimmah* (n.p., 50 x 30 cm edition, 1294 AH), p. 92.

[82] Abū al-Muthannā Riyāḥ Ibn Ḥārith Nakhaʿī (d. 36 AH) was from Kufa. Under his entry for Riyāḥ in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Ibn Ḥajar only mentions him. He says: "He is one of Abū Dāwūd's, Ibn Majah's, and Nasāʾī's narrators.

[83] Ibn Maghāzilī Jullābī Shāfiʿī relates this hadith about the caravan from Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Bazzāz via his chain from Riyāḥ Ibn Ḥārith in *al-Manāqib*, p. 22. In *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 187, ʿAllāmah Amīnī relates it from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal from Riyāḥ Ibn Ḥārith; Qādī Nūrullāh Ḥusaynī Marʿashī Shūshtarī, *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq* (Tehran: Islāmiyyah, n.d.), vol. 6, p. 326.

[84] In another edition, Irbilī says: "We have previously cited an abridged version of this narration on the authority of *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal* and Riyāḥ Ibn Ḥārith; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 212.

[85] *Kashf al-Ghummah*, pp. 93–94. An abridged version of this hadith appears in Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī Aḥmad Ibn ʿAbdillāh Ibn Muhammad, *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah* (Sharikat al-Ṭibāʿat al-Muttaḥidah al-Fanniyyah), vol. 1, p. 161, on the authority of Riyāḥ Ibn Ḥārith, from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, and, on the authority of Baghawī, *Muʿjam*. According to Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 209. Aḥmad relates an abridged version in *al-Faḍāʾil*.

[86] *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 1, pp. 368–69.

[87] Muhammad Ibn Omar Kashshī, *Ikhtiyār Maʿrifat al-Rijāl* (*Rijāl al-Kashshī*), pp. 30–31, *fī mā ruwiya min jihat al-ʿāmmah* (Pertaining to What is Narrated from the Sunnis); Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 223, on the authority of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd: In his well-known book, Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Maʿārif*, cites the Leprosy Hadith and the Master of the Faithful's cursing Anas Ibn Mālik. Ibn Qutaybah cannot be accused of having extreme beliefs about Ali because of the majority opinion that he inclined away from him.

[88] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 191–92.

[89] One edition says:

وقال بقية البدريين الذين شهدوا مع علي صفين: قد حفظنا جل ما قلت ولم نحفظ كله عن

هامش

"The rest of the Badr veterans who had seen Ṣiffīn with Ali said: 'We remember most of what you have said but do not remember all of it'" (footnote).

[90] *Kitāb Sulaym Ibn Qays*, pp. 179–90; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 195–96, but only that which pertains to the Ghadīr; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, pp.

139–40, hadith 46, quoting the entire hadith from *Kitāb Sulaym Ibn Qays*.

[91] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 196–97.

[92] Tūsī, *Amālī* (Najaf), vol. 2, pp. 172–73.

[93] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, pp. 298–99, hadith 27.

[94] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, pp. 297–98, hadith 26.

[95] *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah* (Istanbul), p. 482.

[96] Ibn Athīr Jazarī, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārikh* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1385 AH), vol. 3, p. 460, under the entry for the year 49 AH, Ibn Athīr Jazarī relates that in this year Imam Hasan passed away, his wife, Jaᶜdah, the daughter of Ashᶜath Ibn Qays Kindī, poisoned him.

[97] One edition says two years.

[98] *Kitāb Sulaym Ibn Qays*, pp. 206–9.

[99] that is: Muᶜāwiyah, Ibn Abī Sufyān.

[100] (Another hadith says after: "...but if I am lying, call me a liar...": "Listen to what I say, and write down my words, and then return to your metropolises and tribes whom you have faith in).

[101] The covenant that Husayn made with the people was to convey the message to their homeland and to those of their people whom they trusted.

ᶜAllāmah Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Tafsīr al-Mīzān* (n.p., Islāmiyyah, 1386 AH), vol. 13, pp. 157–58, citing Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-Manthūr* (n.p., Dār al-Maᶜrifah, 1404 AH) from Ibn Jarīr, from Sahl Ibn Saᶜd, from Ibn Abī Ḥātim, from ᶜAmr and Abū Yaᶜlā Ibn Murrah, and Ibn Mardūyah from Husayn Ibn Ali, and from Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Ibn Mardūyah and Bayhaqī in *Dalāʾil* and Ibn ᶜAsākir from Saʿīd Ibn Musayyib; Faḍl Ibn Hasan Ṭabrasī, *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān* (Sidon: ᶜIrfān, 1333 AH), vol. 3, p. 424, from Sahl Ibn Saᶜd, from Imam Bāqir: "The Prophet saw some men climbing onto his pulpit in his dream."

[103] Ten of Abū al-ᶜĀṣ's offspring ruled: 1. Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam Ibn Abī al-ᶜĀṣ; 2. ᶜAbd al-Malik Ibn Marwān; 3. Walīd Ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik; 4. Sulaymān Ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik; 5 ᶜAmr Ibn ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz Ibn Marwān; 6. Yazīd Ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik; 7. Hishām Ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik; 8. Walīd Ibn Yazīd Ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik; 9. Ibrāhīm Ibn Yazīd Ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik; 10, Marwān Ibn Muhammad Ibn Marwān, from the year 64 AH, when Muᶜāwiyah Ibn Yazīd Ibn Muᶜāwiyah abdicated the Caliphate, until 132 AH, when Abū al-ᶜAbbās Saffāḥ overthrew Muᶜāwiyah and seized the throne. The number seven may refer to the harshest of them, making an exception of Omar Ibn ᶜAbd al-Azīz, Ibrāhīm, and Marwān Ibn Muhammad.

Note that the Marwānids were all Umayyads because Abū al-ᶜĀṣ, who was Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam's grandfather, was the son of Umayyah Ibn ᶜAbd Shams. Therefore, when the hadith says three Umayyads, it means three non-Marwānid Umayyads, i.e. Othman, Muᶜāwiyah, and Yazīd.

[104] *Kitāb Sulaym Ibn Qays*, pp. 231–38.

[105] Sibṭ Ibn Jawzī says in *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, pp. 48–49:

> After Abū Hurayrah said: "*Surely we are God's and to Him we shall surely return*," Muᶜāwiyah's face changed, and he said: "What is this?! Stop what you saying, because you cannot trick the Syrians out of avenging Othman! Othman was wrongfully killed in a holy month in God's Messenger's holy precinct in the presence of your master. It was he who incited the people to kill him. Today, they are with him, his helpers, supporters, his hand, and his foot!" Thereafter, Dhū al-Kilāᶜ, Ḥawshab, and Muᶜāwiyah Ibn Khudayj said: "O Muᶜāwiyah, we will help you get what you want or else every last one of us be killed!" Thereafter, Aṣbagh stood up, saying: "Muᶜāwiyah, God has among His creatures servants whose hearts are cruel. Your heart is one of the most evil of those hearts. Obedient [hearts] are not like cruel [hearts]. Forget Ibn Khudayj, forget Ḥawshab, and forget Dhū al-Kilāᶜ, and accept [good] health." Muᶜāwiyah then shouted: "Have you come as a messenger or to cause aversion?" Aṣbagh then set off for Iraq.

[106] *Dārimiyyah* is an adjective denoting origin (*nisbah*) derived from Dārūm, which is a citadel beyond Gaza, on the coast towards Egypt. The tribe of Banū Ḥām reached there and settled there, as is apparent from Muᶜāwiyah's words: "O daughter of Ḥām." Ḥajūn is a famous area in Mecca, and because Dārimiyyah lived there, she became known as Ḥajūniyyah.

[107] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 208–9, footnote, citing Zamakhsharī, *Rabīᶜ al-Abrār*, chapter 41: "This argument is also related albeit worded differently in *Balāghāt al-Nisāʾ*, p. 72; Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih Andalusī Mālikī, *al-ᶜIqd al-Farīd*, vol. 1, p. 162, and, *Ṣubḥ al-Aᶜshā*, vol. 1, p. 259.

[108] Wearing black was the Abbasids' trademark. A *ṭaylasān* is a round green mantle, which has no tail and only covers the upper body. It is worn by elite scholars and shaykhs. It is of non-Arab origin. A *ṭawīlah* is a long garment that covers the whole body like a *jubbah*. A turban (*ᶜamāmah*) is a piece of cloth wound around the head like a cap, and a *qalansuvah* is a thin cap worn on the head. There are various kinds, including those that are worn under the turban.

[109] This is similar to what has now become common for people ignorant of biography and history to say: "Abū Bakr and Omar did great service to Islam, for example the battles fought by Abū Bakr and by Omar for Islam. Through those battles, Islam was strengthened. Isḥāq Ibn Ibrāhīm wanted to expand the criteria for merit to include what the two Shaykhs did after God's Messenger's death." By restricting the criterion for merit to achievements during the Messenger's lifetime, Maʾmūn preemptively disallowed Isḥāq's evidence, and continued:

> What counts is only what they did during God's Messenger lifetime. The Master of the Faithful performed so many good deeds during the Messenger's lifetime that even if you put together all the deeds done by Abū Bakr and Omar or indeed the rest of the ten promised Heaven, they cannot compare to Ali's good deeds. If, after God's Messenger's death, Ali had been allowed to rule, he would have done even more good deeds for the people and Islam, notwithstanding the superiority of service during the Messenger's lifetime. Furthermore, we see that after the Messenger died, some people prayed, performed *ḥajj*, fasted, and donated more and performed many other good deeds more so than people did during the Messenger's lifetime, but both we and our opponents agree that they are not superior to those who lived during the Messenger's lifetime, because virtue is measured by purity and sincerity of deed, self-sacrifice and precedence in difficulty and hardship, and standing firm when everyone else had fled, and God's Messenger had been left alone. And in performing these good deeds, the Master of the Faithful was unique, representing the highest level of Islam.

[110] This is evidenced and corroborated by *Sūrat al-Ḥadīd* ("Iron"): *...those who spent and fought before the victory are more exalted in rank than the ones who spent and fought afterwards* (57:10).

[111] An *ʿarīsh* is a tent-like hut to take shade in from the sun.

[112] Sunni books say that God's Messenger promised ten of his companions that they would go to Heaven: Abū Bakr, Omar, Ali, Othman, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAwf, Saʿīd Ibn Zayd Ibn ʿAmr Ibn Nufayl, and ʿAbdullāh Ibn Masʿūd. However, the Shiʿa totally reject this narration as a fabrication. The narration of the ten given glad tidings (*al-ʿashara al-mubashsharah*) can be found in *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 3, p. 378.

[113] Maʾmūn means that the hadith about the ten given glad tidings is fabricated, and someone who rejects it is not an unbeliever, in contrast to *Sūrat al-Dahr*, revealed about the Household, because it is Qurʾan. Anyone who rejects it is an unbeliever.

[114] Both the Shi'a and Sunnis relate, via an indubitable chain of transmission comprising trusted narrators, that one day, Anas Ibn Mālik (God's Messenger's servant) presented a fried bird to God's Messenger. God's Messenger then prayed:

اللهمّ أدخِل إليَّ أحبَّ خَلقِكَ إليكَ يأكُل معي مِن هَذَا الطَّائر.

"O God, send in to me the most beloved of Your Creation to eat this bird with me." Thereafter, Ali came to see God's Messenger to eat with him. Anas says:

> When God's Messenger said this prayer, I whispered to myself: "O God, make it one of the Supporters" (because Anas was a Supporter so he wanted this to be a source of pride for his people). So Ali knocked on the door, and Anas went to the door and told the Master of the Faithful that God's Messenger was busy seeing to a need, and did not open the door. Meanwhile, God's Messenger repeated his prayer:
>
> اللهمّ أدخِل إليَّ أحبَّ خَلقِكَ إليكَ يأكُل معي مِن هَذَا الطَّائر.
>
> "O God, send in to me the most beloved of Your Creation to eat this bird with me." Again the Master of the Faithful knocked on the door but Anas did not open it. God's Messenger said his prayer a third time. When the Master of the Faithful knocked on the door, God's Messenger asked: "Why don't you open the door?" Anas replied: "O God's Messenger, I wanted it to be one of the Supporters." The Prophet stated: "You are not the first man to love his people." So I opened the door, and Ali entered and God's Messenger asked him: "O Ali what kept you?" The Master of the Faithful told him the story—that he had come along twice, and Anas had told him: "God's Messenger is busy!" The Master of the Faithful ate from that bird with God's Messenger.

[115] Clear evidence of Abū Bakr's reprehensibility lies in God's words

فانزل الله سكينته عليه

Then God sent His peace down upon him... (9:40) because at the Battle of Ḥunayn, God sent His peace down upon His Messenger and the believers. But even though God is referring to the Messenger and Abū Bakr in

ثاني اثنين اذ هما في الغار

he being the second of two when they were both in the cave (9:40), God's Messenger tells Abū Bakr

لا تحزن ان الله معنا

Grieve not, surely God is with us (9:40). Hence, God's peace did not come down on both of them. If it had, the verse would have read:

فانزل السكينة عليهما

"Then God sent His peace down upon them both." However, because God's peace is said to have come down upon God's Messenger alone, it is like an explicit statement that it did not come down upon Abū Bakr. Even though this implicature is the implicature of a designation (*mafhūm al-laqab*), because it is accompanied by all the other aforementioned characteristics, the implication is even stronger than that provided by the implicature of a condition (*mafhūm al-sharṭ*).

[116] *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd* (n.p., Maṭbaʿat al-Jamāliyyah, 1331 AH), vol. 3, pp. 279–86; ibid. (n.p., Lajnat Taʾlīf wa Tarjamah wa Nashr, 1385 AH), vol. 5, pp. 92–102.

[117] *Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah* (Istanbul: Akhtar, 1301 AH), p. 484; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 212 citing *Yanābīʿ* and *ʿAbaqāt al-Anwār*, vol. 1, p. 147.

[118] *Murūj al-Dhahab* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Saʿādat, 1367 AH), vol. 2, p. 437.

[119] *Ibn Shahr Āshūb, al-Manāqib* (lithograph), vol. 1, p. 531; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, p. 118. At the end of line four, it says: "The poet is Abū al-ʿAlāʾ Saravī Māzandarānī, a fourth-century luminary. There was correspondence between him and Abū Faḍl Ibn ʿAmīd. There is a biographical entry on him as well as some of his poetry in *Yatīmat al-Dahr, Maḥāsin Iṣfahān*, and *Nihāyat al-Irab fī Funūn al-Adab*."

[120] *Ibn Shahr Āshūb, al-Manāqib*, vol. 1, p. 531; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, p. 172, quoting *al-Manāqib* and Bayāḍī, *al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*. It says: "The poet is Abū al-Faraj Muhammad Ibn Hindaw Rāzī, and Āl Hindaw were a pioneering Shiʿa family in scholarship and literature. Abū al-Faraj was the founder of [the clan] Bayt Āl Hindaw, a number of whose other members also attained high levels of scholarship. They were renowned for poetry and literature.

[121] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 1, p. 531.

[122] In his book *Iqbāl al-Aʿmāl* (n.p., lithograph, Introduction dated 1320 AH), p. 459, Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Ali Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs mentions:

> Envy of that status and blessing conferred upon Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib made one of them reach his doom. Ḥākim ʿUbaydullāh Ibn ʿAbdillāh Ḥaskānī, an eminent Sunni, narrates in *Iddiʿā' al-Hudāt ilā Adā Ḥaqq al-Muwālāt*: "I read it to Abū Bakr Muhammad Ibn Muhammad al-Ṣaydalānī and he endorsed it." He continues narrating, eventually reaching Manṣūr Ibn Ribʿī, who quotes Ḥudhayfah Ibn Yamān as saying:

When God's Messenger said: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master," Nuʿmān Ibn Mundhir al-Fahrī stood up and asked: "This thing that you have said, is it from you or is it something that your Lord has commanded you?" The Prophet replied: "Actually, my Lord has commanded me." [Nuʿmān] said: "O God, send down a stone from Heaven upon us." He had hardly reached his mount when a stone came down upon him and made him bleed. He then fell face down, dead! Then, God Exalted revealed: *A petitioner prayed for inevitable punishment.*

I say: Thaʿlabī narrates this hadith in his exegesis of the Qurʾan better and more fully than this narration, as does the author of *al-Nashr wa al-Ṭayy*. He then quotes this hadith fully and says:

If as we have stated, people rejected and hated God's revelation and commandment to His Messenger—to put Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib in charge of Islam and the Muslims—even within the Prophet's lifetime, when he still hoped and feared, and revelation was still coming to him, how can it be surprising that someone as envious and with as much animosity towards Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib would, after the Prophet's death, depose our Master Ali, and suppress many clear instructions appointing him!

باعوه بالامل الضعيف سفاهة
وقت الحياة فكيف بعد وفاته
خذلوه في وقت يخاف ويرتجى
أيراد منهم ان يفوا لمماته

Through weak hope and ignorance, they sold him, even within his lifetime, let alone after his death!
They deserted him at a time when there was still hope and fear. Were they expected to be faithful after he died?

[123] These words are derived from Qurʾan 8:32: *And when they said: O God! If this is the truth from Thee, then rain upon us stones from heaven or inflict on us a painful punishment.*

[124] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 240; Qāḍī Nūrullāh Shūshtarī, *Majālis al-Muʾminīn* (Tehran: Ali Qulī Khān Qājār, 1299 AH), Majlis 1, on the authority of Thaʿlabī based on what *Tafsīr Abī al-Futūḥ* narrates.

[125] *Tadhkirat Khawāṣṣ al-Ummah*, p. 19.

[126] The Muẓaffarī edition says "by his cheek" (*khaddihi*) i.e. he stood [Ali] next to his own face. However, the Islāmiyyah edition says he

stood [Ali] within his demarcation (*ḥaddihi*), i.e. he stood him at the level he was worthy of and deserved.

[127] Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad (Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī), *Tafsīr Rawḥ al-Jinān wa Rūḥ al Janān* (n.p., Muẓaffarī, n.d.), vol. 2, pp. 194–95; ibid. (Tehran: Islāmiyyah, 1378–82 AH), vol. 4, pp. 282–83. In the last few sentences, Abū al-Futūḥ punnily summarizes God's Messenger's sermon about and prayer for the Master of the Faithful using the technical terms used by grammarians to explain the rules for voweling desinential inflection and indeclinables. Mr. Dawlati's interpretive translation is:

> The religion was like a baby and it grew up through the publication and propaganda. It was a baby like John and Jesus, and it was perfected along with Islam. And even before Islam grew, it grew. Then, Islam itself was perfected through the appointment of the next leader, put on a beautiful garment, and donned a majestic mantle. At that time when they built a pulpit for the Messenger out of camels' saddlebags, they let the best man climb up to that pulpit. The Messenger of God had the saddlebags set up, and lifted another man up onto them, embraced him, started counting out his virtues, and by lifting his hand and introducing him to the crowd, he broke down the opponents' foundations. The Messenger held him by his arm, lifted him up, let the enemies taste death, tore them apart, and sent them to destruction! Thus, the pulpit is set up (appointed), and the owner of it was taken upon it: the pulpit is appointed, apparently and spiritually, and its owner is its true and absolute owner. He, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, is the real owner and has been taken upon it. His enemy is ill and perishing—I wish you knew whether he is jealous or dying.

[128] The Rāzī to whom Ibn Shahr Āshūb refers cannot be the well-known Fakhr Rāzī, because he says no such thing in his exegesis. It might be Shaykh Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī in his exegesis because Ibn Shahr Āshūb did live after him.

[129] *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, vol. 1, p. 538.

[130] ʿUbaydullāh Ibn Aḥmad (Ḥākim Ḥaskānī), *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl* (n.p., Majmaʿ Iḥyāʾ al-Thiqāfat al-Islāmiyyah, 1411 AH), vol. 2, p. 286, hadith 1030. This hadith is related by Shaykh Ṭūsī in *Majmaʿ al-Bayān* citing Ḥākim Ḥaskānī, via this same chain of transmission, by way of commentary on the noble verse. Sayyid Hāshim al-Baḥrānī also quotes Ḥākim Ḥaskānī in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, vol. 2, p. 399, chapter 117, hadith 2, related as per the other narration.

[131] This one, as well as the following 1–3, are in *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, vol. 2, pp. 287–89, hadiths 1031–34, and 1 and 4 are also in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 240–41, quoting Ḥākim Ḥaskānī.

[132] This sentence in one edition of *Farā'id al-Simṭayn* appears to be correct, because Sufyān Ibn ʿUyaynah narrated directly from Imam Ṣādiq, not via his [Sufyān's] father as an intermediate narrator. Some editions of *Farā'id al-Simṭayn* and some other books erroneously say Sufyān Ibn ʿUyaynah, on the authority of his father, on the authority of Imam Ṣādiq.

[133] *Farā'id al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, pp. 82–83, chapter 15, hadith 63; however, in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 242, ʿAllāmah Amīnī says *Farā'id*, chapter 13.

[134] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, section 2, pp. 397–98, chapter 117, hadith 1.

[135] Jamāl al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Yūsuf Zarandī Ḥanafī, *Naẓm Durar al-Simṭayn fī Faḍā'il al-Muṣṭafā wa al-Murtaḍā wa al-Batūl wa al-Sibṭayn* (Najaf: al-Qaḍā', 1377 AH), p. 93; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 242–43, quoting therefrom, and from Zarandī, *Maʿārij al-Wuṣūl*.

[136] Ali Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ṣabbāgh Mālikī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah fī Maʿrifat Aḥwāl al-A'immah* (Tehran: lithograph, 1302 AH), p. 26; ibid. (Najaf: al-ʿAdl, n.d.), p. 26.

[137] *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah* (Cairo: Muhammad Ali Ṣubayḥ, 1353 AH), vol. 3, pp. 308–9.

[138] The verse is

فَأَسْقِطْ عَلَيْنَا كِسَفًا مِنَ السَّمَاءِ إِن كُنتَ مِنَ الصَّادِقِينَ

Then make fragments from heaven fall upon us, if you are one of the truthful! (26:187).

[139] *Irshād al-ʿAql al-Salīm ilā Mazāyā al-Kitāb al-Karīm* (*Tafsīr Abī al-Saʿūd*) (Riyāḍ: Maktabat al-Riyāḍ al-Ḥadīthah, n.d.), vol. 5, p. 388. It has also been published as footnotes to *Tafsīr al-Fakhr al-Rāzī*, vol. 8, p. 292; Chief Justice (Qāḍī al-Quḍāt) Abū al-Saʿūd, son of Muhammad ʿImādī Ḥanbalī, was born in 900 AH and died in 982 AH.

[140] RD: *Qatl ṣabran* means choosing which prisoner to behead, and then beheading him.

[141] Abū ʿAbdillāh Muhammad Ibn Aḥmad Anṣārī Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmiʿ li Aḥkām al-Qur'ān* (*Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī*) (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1387 AH), vol. 18, p. 278.

[142] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 241.

[143] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 239–46.

[144] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, vol. 2, pp. 397–98, chapters 117–18.

[145] *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 9, p. 206.

Ḥalabī, in *al-Sīrat al-Nabawiyyah*, vol. 3, pp. 308–9, also relates this hadith about Ḥarth Ibn Nuᶜmān Fahrī. He says:

فأناخ راحلته عند باب المسجد ودخل

"He made his camel kneel at the door to the mosque and entered..." He continues to the end of the story. Of course, he cites this hadith in the section on the attributes of the Messenger of God, and cites it fully, without raising any objection.

[146] Sayyid Muhammad Bāqir Mūsawī Khānsārī Iṣfahānī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt fī Aḥwāl al-ᶜUlamāʾ wa al-Sādāt*, citing ᶜAllāmah's own manuscript, says that he was born on twenty-ninth of the Month of Ramaḍān.

[147] ᶜAllāmah died in Ḥillah. His body was taken to Holy Najaf, and buried near the grave of the Master of the Faithful (*Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, (modern edition), vol. 2, p. 282).

[148] *Majālis al-Muʾminīn*, Majlis 8, p. 403 says in the biographical note on Sultan Khodā Bandeh:

> An edict was passed that in regions of Iran they deliver sermons, omitting the names of the three companions, and only mentioning the Master of the Faithful, Ali, Hasan, and Husayn. They changed the mint in 709 AH, mentioning only Ali's name out of all the companions. "Hasten to the best deed" was publicly incorporated in the call to prayer. This was so in all regions subject to Öljaitü except Qazvīn! It was then that the formerly forsaken Shiᶜite *madhhab* flourished.

[149] *Majālis al-Muʾminīn*, Majlis 8.

[150] Similarly the twelve Infallible Imam's names were inscribed on the mystics Pīr Makrān Linjān's and Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Naṭanzī's mausoleums, as well as the Minaret of Dār al-Siyādah, which Sultan Muhammad Khodā Bandeh completed, after (Ghāzān) his brother had begun construction. *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt* (Beirut: Dār al-Maᶜrifah, n.d.), vol. 2, pp. 280–81.

[151] Qāḍī Nūrullāh Shūshtarī, in his book, *Majālis al-Muʾminīn*, Majlis 5, p. 246, after telling this story and the story of Sayyid Mawṣilī, who objected to ᶜAllāmah Ḥillī for invoking blessings upon Muhammad's family, and was amazed by ᶜAllāmah's innovative and intuitive reply. The author says:

It so happened that one day there was a discussion on the Imamate, between me and one of the Ṣayfī Sayyids from Qazvīn, and after my argument was proven to him, he was powerless and said: "If the Imāmī *madhhab* is right about the Imamate, why have many of your scholars not debated the Sunni scholars to date, proven to them the righteousness of their *madhhab*, and turned them away from their predecessors' *madhhab*?!"

[I replied:] The Sunnis have always been the overwhelming majority, and every sultan, in turn, would realize the self-serving interest of following their *madhhab*, striving to put out the light of Shiʿism.

Obviously, this sect was not able to publicize its position (*madhhab*)! However, whenever its members received the slightest support from the rulers of their time, they would open the door to debate, finding a way through that door to persuade and dumbfound their opponents, as occurred during the Buyid era, when Shaykh Mufīd, Sharīf Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā, and other Shiʿa scholars debated with Sunni scholars contemporary to them, persuaded them, and defeated them. During Sultan Muhammad Khodā Bandeh's term, Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn debated with the Sunni scholars and convinced them. Because that obstinate Qazvīnī who claimed to be a Sayyid, and, like the Mawṣilī Sayyid, was a Sunni, I thought it appropriate to tell the story of the debate between the Shaykh and the Mawṣilī Sayyid. When I reached the part where the Shaykh said to the Mawṣilī Sayyid: "What disaster could be worse than someone like you being descended from them?" and pointed to that charlatan Qazvīnī Sayyid, he realized that his debate with me was just like the Qazvīnī Sayyid's debate with Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn on account of my gesticulation and his sharing with that Mawṣilī Sayyid a claim to be a Sayyid while publicly being Sunni, he was embarrassed, put his hand on his chest, and said: "The truth is that you have hurt us with wit and proficiency!"[152]

Note that we told the story of the Mawṣilī Sayyid's debate with ʿAllāmah in *Knowing the Imams*, vol. 3, Lesson 39.

[152] *Majālis al-Muʾminīn*, pp. 245–46, Majlis 5, Biographical note on ʿAllāmah Ḥillī.

[153] The full story of Sultan Muhammad Khodā Bandeh's embracing Shiʿism thanks to ʿAllāmah Ḥillī is told in Mīrzā Husayn Ibn Muhammad Taqī (Muḥaddith Nūrī), *Mustadrak al-Wasāʾil wa Mustanbaṭ al-Masāʾil* (n.p. Āqā Mīrzā Maḥmūd Tājir, Kitābfurūshī Khānsārī (lithograph), 1318–21 AH), vol. 3, p. 460, and in *Safinat al-Biḥār* (Najaf: al-ʿIlmiyyah (lithograph), 1355 AH), vol. 2, p. 734, on the matter of Shiʿism.

And, praise be to God and by His grace, we also told it in *Knowing the Imams*, vol. 3, lessons 38–39. Shaykh Muhammad Nabī Toysirkhānī, at the end of *Li'ālī al-Akhbār* (n.p., Ali Qulī Khān Qājār (lithograph), 1312 AH), pp. 651–56, has passages on Khodā Bandeh's embracing Shi'ism, refutation of the other four *madhhabs*, the wrong and frightful edicts passed by the chiefs of the four *madhhabs*, and the widespread sinfulness and debauchery amongst Sunnis. This matter appears in two separate places in *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, once in Majlis 5, in the biographical note on 'Allamah, pp. 245–48, and once in Majlis 8, in the biographical note on Sultan Muhammad Khodā Bandeh, pp. 402–5.

[154] *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, vol. 2, p. 287 says in the footnote, on the authority of Qāḍī Nāṣir al-Dīn Bayḍāwī, that he wrote a letter to 'Allāmah, beginning with:

> Our Master, the beauty of the religion, may God preserve your refinements, for you are the Imam of the authorities (*mujtahids*) in the science of legal presumptions (*uṣūl*)... One of our dear sayyids quotes His Excellency Shaykh Muhammad Taqī Qummī, the member of *Dār al-Taqrīb* (the Home of Rapprochement [between *madhhabs*]) as saying:
>
> > I gave two books, one of them, *al-Tadhkirah* by 'Allāmah, and *al-Khilāf* by Shaykh Ṭūsī, to one of the great scholars of al-Azhar University, who wanted to study the opinions and edicts of the Shi'a and their points of difference with the Sunnis. After studying them, he loved them and was delighted with these two great scholars' ability and the superiority of their opinions to the Sunnis' opinions in every issue, so much so, that he told me:
> >
> > > I can find the opinions of Sunni scholars as Mālik, Shāfi'ī, Abū Ḥanīfah, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, Sufyān al-Thawrī, and others better in these two books than in our own books. Therefore, since I started reading these books, whenever I wanted to come across [the answer] to any question in accordance with the opinion of one of our scholars, I first referred to these books instead of ours and avoided referring to our books.

[155] *Al-Tadhkirah* by Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Ali Ibn Iraq Miṣrī says that Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymiyyah was one of the Sunni scholars contemporary to 'Allāmah Ḥillī, and would frequently criticize him in secret. 'Allāmah wrote him these two couplets:

لَوْ كُنْتَ تَعْلَمُ كُلَّ مَا عَلِمَ الْوَرَى طُرًّا لَصِرْتَ صَدِيقَ كُلِّ الْعَالَمِ

لكن جهلت قلت: إن جميع من يهوى خلاف هواك ليس بعالم

If you knew what the whole of mankind knows, you would be a friend to the entire world;
However, you are ignorant, and say anyone who wishes contrary to what you wish is not learned!

(*Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, vol. 2, p. 286).

[156] *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī* (Bulāq: al-Maṭbaᶜat al-Amīriyyah, 1312 AH), vol. 4, p. 79, Bāb Farḍ al-Khums (Chapter on the Imposition of the Double-Tithe) via his chain from ᶜUrwah Ibn Zubayr, from Ayishe:

> Ayishe told me that after God's Messenger's death, Fāṭimah, daughter of God's Messenger, asked Abū Bakr to apportion her a share of the inheritance left by God's Messenger of the non-militarily acquired booty given (*afā'*) him by God. Thereafter, Abū Bakr told her that God's Messenger had said: "We do not leave as an inheritance what we have left as charity." Fāṭimah, daughter of God's Messenger, then became angry and shunned Abū Bakr, and to her death did not stopping shunning him.

Ibid., vol. 5, p. 139, *Bāb Ghazwat Khaybar* (Chapter on the Battle of Khaybar) says that when Fāṭimah demanded her inheritance and Abū Bakr refused to give her any of it, Fāṭimah became angry with Abū Bakr over that, shunned him, and to her death did not speak to him. She lived on a further six months after the Prophet. When she passed away, her husband Ali buried her without informing Abū Bakr and prayed [the funeral prayer] for her.

Ibid., vol. 7, p. 37, *Bāb Dhabb al-Rajul ᶜan Ibnatihi fī al-Ghīrah wa al-Inṣāf* (Chapter on a Man's Defending His Daughter through Protectiveness and in Ensuring She Gets Her Fair Share) relates that God's Messenger said:

فاطمة بضعة مني يُريبني ما أرابها ويؤذيني ما آذاها

"Fāṭimah is part of me. Whatever disquiets her disquiets me, and whatever annoys her annoys me." Ibn Qutaybah Dīnavarī (d. 270 AH) relates in *al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah* (Cairo, Darb Shaghlān: Maṭbaᶜat al-Ummah, 1328 AH), pp. 14-15:

قال عمر لابي بكر انطلق بنا الى فاطمة فإنا قد أغضبناها، فانطلقا جميعاً فاستأذنا على فاطمة فلم تأذن لهما فأتيا علياً فكلّماه فأدخلهما عليها. فلما قعدا عندها حوّلت وجهها إلى الحائط فسلّما عليها فلم ترد عليهما السلام فتكلم أبو بكر.

Thereafter, Omar told Abū Bakr: "Let's go to Fāṭimah because we have made her angry," so they went off together and asked to see Fāṭimah. However, she did not let them in, so they went to Ali and spoke to him. He then let them in to see her. Thereafter they sat by her, but she turned her face towards the wall. They then greeted her, but she did not greet them back. So Abū Bakr spoke, and after he apologized for not returning Fadak to Fāṭimah, she said:

أرأيتكما إن حدثتكما حديثاً عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم تعرفانه وتفعلان به؟ قالا: نعم، قالت: انشدكما الله ألم تسمعا رسول الله يقول: رضا فاطمة من رضاي وسخط فاطمة من سخطي فمن أحبّ فاطمة ابنتي فقد أحبني ومن أرضى فاطمة فقد أرضاني ومن أسخط فاطمة فقد أسخطني؟ قالا: نعم سمعناه من رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلّم قالت: فإنّي أشهد الله وملائكته: أنكما أسخطتماني وما أرضيتماني ولئن لقيت النبي لاشكونكما اليه

"Do you think if I narrate a hadith to you from God's Messenger, you will recognize it and act by it?" They replied: "Yes." She then said: "I adjure you by God, did you not hear God's Messenger say: 'Fāṭimah's pleasure is of my pleasure and Fāṭimah's anger is of my anger, so whoever loves Fāṭimah my daughter loves me, and whoever pleases Fāṭimah pleases me, but whoever angers Fāṭimah angers me'?" They replied: "Yes, we heard it from God's Messenger." She said: "Well, I call God and His angels as witnesses that you have angered me and not pleased me. When I meet the Prophet, I will complain to him about the two of you."

We see clearly in this hadith that both Abū Bakr and Omar had annoyed Fāṭimah, and Fāṭimah turned away from them without responding to their greetings. That means she considered them to be non-Muslims, because responding to a Muslim's greetings is a legal duty. Furthermore [to paraphrase] she clearly told them: "You two have made me angry; I am not pleased with you, and when I leave this world, I will complain about you to God's Messenger."

[157] Abū Manṣūr Muhammad Ibn Aḥmad, *Tahdhīb al-Lughah* (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyyah, 1384-87 AH).

[158] Zubaydī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, vol. 2, pp. 124–25.
[159] Shihāb al-Dīn Fayyūmī, *al-Miṣbāḥ al-Munīr* (n.p., lithograph, n.d.); (Qom: Manshūrāt Dār al-Hijrah, 1405 AH), under art. *b-ṭ-ḥ*.
[160] Abū al-Wafāʾ al-Hūrīnī, *Ṣiḥāḥ al-Lughah*, vol. 1, p. 170.
[161] Ibn Athīr Jazarī, *al-Nihāyah fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth wa al-Āthār* (Qom: Ismāʿīliyyān, 1367 AH), vol. 1, pp. 134–35.
[162] Saʿīd Khūrī Shartūnī, *Aqrab al-Mawārid fī Fuṣḥ al-ʿArabiyyah wa al-Shawārid*, vol. 2, p. 47.
[163] *Lisān al-ʿArab* says under art. *salṭaḥ*: "*Islinṭāḥ* means length and breadth. *Salanṭaḥ* means a wide-open space. *Islanṭaḥ al-wādī* means 'the valley became wide,' and *islanṭaḥ al-shayʾ* means 'the thing became wide and long.'"
[164] Shihāb al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdillāh Yāqūt Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān* (Cairo: al-Saʿādah, 1324 AH), vol. 2, pp. 213–14.
[165] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq Baghdādī, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ ʿalā Asmāʾ al-Amkinah wa al-Biqāʿ* (Beirut: Dār al-Iḥyāʾ, 1373 AH), vol. 1, p. 204.
[166] Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān* (n.p., n.p., n.d.), p. 84.
[167] Kamāl al-Dīn Maybudī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Maybudī* (n.p., n.p., n.d.).
[168] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 1, p. 181; Abū al-Husayn Ibn Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (Cairo: Dār Ihyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyyah ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1374 AH), vol. 1, p. 382.
[169] Abū ʿĪsā Muhammad Ibn ʿĪsā Ibn Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-Saḥīḥ* (*Sunan al-Tirmidhī*) (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1382), vol. 2, p. 298, from Salamah Ibn Kuhayl, from Abū Ṭufayl, from Ḥudhayfah Abū Sarīḥah.
[170] Sayyid Ḥimyarī's ode is cited in full in ʿAllāmah Ayatollah Ḥājj Sayyid Muhammad Ḥusaynī Ṭahrānī, *Maʿād Shināsī* (Tehran: Intishārāt Ḥikmat, 1402 AH), vol. 9, Lesson 66; through God's Power and Strength, we have discussed it fully.
[171] Muḥaddith Qummī says in *Muntahā al-Āmāl* (n.p., ʿIlmiyyah Islāmiyyah, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 110 in the biographical note on the Master of the Faithful:

> A great many Sunni scholars have related in their books that a reliable Sunni said:

I saw Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib in a dream, and asked him: "O Master of the Faithful, when you conquered Mecca and made Abū Sufyān's house a safe haven, saying: 'Whoever enters Abū Sufyān's house is safe!' you did good by Abū Sufyān in this way! However, his grandson did not repay your son Husayn in kind for that and instead killed him in Karbala and did what he did!" The Imam replied: "Have you not heard Ibn al-Ṣayfī's poetry concerning this?" I said: "No, I have not heard it!" He said: "Get your answer from him."

He says:

When I awoke, I went straight to the house of Ibn al-Ṣayfī—who is known as Ḥayṣ wa Bayṣ—and told him about my dream. No sooner had he heard it, then he gasped, wept profusely, and said: "By God's Right Hand, I only composed this poetry to which the Master of the Faithful referred this very evening. I have not told anyone about it yet or written it to anyone!" Then he recited these couplets to me:

ملكنا فكان العفو منا سجية...

[172] Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān* (Cairo: Mūsawiyyah, 1278 AH), vol. 1, p. 44, chapter 11, says:

ذكر قوم منه الفاتحة

"One group says it includes the Opening."

[173] Ibid. on the authority of Ibn al-Ḥaṣṣār that the beginning of Chapter 16 ("The Bee") and the beginning of Chapter 30 ("The Byzantines") were revealed twice.

[174] Ibid., quoting Zarkashī, *al-Burhān*.

[175] Ibid., quoting Zarkashī, *al-Burhān*.

[176] Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat al-Mūsawiyyah bi al-Diyār al-Miṣriyyah, 1278 AH), vol. 1, pp. 17–18.

[177] Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ḥajar Haythamī, *al-Fatāwā al-Ḥadīthah* (n.p., n.p., n.d.), p. 86 says:

Ibn Taymiyyah is a slave whom God has forsaken, allowed to stray, rendered blind and deaf, and humiliated! Such is explicitly stated by great scholars, who have proclaimed the rottenness of his condition, and the incorrectness of his opinions. Whoever so wishes should refer to what was said by an Imam Mujtahid, considered by all to be an eminent Imam who reached the level of *ijtihād*, Abū al-Hasan Sabkī, his son Tāj, and Shaykh Imam, ʿIzz Ibn Jamāʿat, people contemporary to them, and other Shāfiʿīs, Mālikīs, and Ḥanafīs. Ibn Taymiyyah not only objected to latter-day Sufis, but he even objected to Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. In short, no weight should be given to what he says. Rather, it should be cast onto every crag and rough ground. He should be believed to be an extreme, misguiding, deviant innovator. May God deal with him in accordance with His justice and save us from the likes of his way, belief, and deeds!

[178] *Sūrat al-Māʾidah* was revealed at the end of the God's Messenger's life, and *Sūrat al-Anfāl* was revealed several years before that.

[179] *Qutila ṣabran* means he was taken prisoner and then executed.

[180] Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwah* (n.p., n.p., n.d.), vol. 2, p. 95, says via the author's chain from ʿAbdullāh Ibn Masʿūd: "God's Messenger faced towards the Kaʿbah and cursed seven individuals from Quraysh, including Abū Jahl, Umayyah Ibn Khalaf, ʿUtbah Ibn Rabīʿah, Shaybah Ibn Rabīʿah, and ʿUqbat Ibn Abī Muʿayṭ." ʿAbdullāh [Ibn Masʿūd] says: "By God, I saw them all laid out at Badr, the sun having changed them, it being a hot day."

Ibn Kathīr Dimashqī says in *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 3, p. 105 by way of commentary on the verse:

انا كفيناك المستهزئين

Surely We will suffice you against the scoffers (15:95), from Saʿīd Ibn Jubayr, quoting Ibn ʿAbbās:

Those who mocked God's Messenger were Walīd Ibn Mughīrah, Aswad Ibn ʿAbd Yaghūth Zuhrī, Aswad Ibn Muṭṭālib Abū Zamʿah, Ḥārith Ibn ʿAyṭal, and ʿĀṣ Ibn Wāʾil al-Sahmī; Gabriel then came to God's Messenger and [the Messenger] complained to him about them. Gabriel then showed Walīd to the Messenger, pointed to his fingertips, and said: "I have sufficed you from him." He then showed Aswad Ibn Muṭṭālib to the Messenger, pointed to his neck, and said: "I have sufficed you from him." He then showed him Aswad Ibn ʿAbd Yaghūth, pointed to his head, and said: "I have sufficed you from him." He then showed him Ḥārith Ibn ʿAyṭal, pointed to his stomach, and said: "I have sufficed you from him." ʿĀṣ Ibn Wāʾil passed by him, so [Gabriel] pointed to the hollow of [ʿĀṣ's] sole and said: "I have sufficed you from him." As for

Walīd, he passed by a man from [the tribe of] Khuzāʿah, who was feathering arrows for him, and [the man's knife] struck Walid's fingertips, cutting them off. As for Aswad Ibn ʿAbd Yaghūth, lesions appeared on his head and he died from them. As for Aswad Ibn al-Muṭṭālib, he went blind. The reason is that he sat under the shade of a gum-acacia tree (*samurah*) and began saying: "O my sons, defend me! I have been slain!" They began saying: "But we see nothing [wrong with you]!" Again he began saying: "Sons, will you not protect me?! I am doomed. Lo, this is a thorn pricking my eyes!" They replied: "But we see nothing [wrong with you]." It continued this way until his eyes went blind. As for Ḥārith Ibn ʿAyṭal, urine took hold of his stomach until his feces came out of his mouth, and he died ftom that. As for ʿĀṣ Ibn Wāʾil, he mounted a donkey to go to Ṭāʾif, but on the way, stopped somewhere and trod on a Zilla spinosa Prantl. A thorn pricked his sole and caused him to die later on.

Bayhaqī narrates something similar.

[181] Maydānī says in *Majmaʿ al-Amthāl* (n.p., al-Maktabat al-Muḥammadiyyah, 1376 AH) that

حَزٌّ قِدْحٌ لَيْسَ مِنها

is an Arabic idiom. A

قِدْح

qidḥ means a divining arrow used in a game of chance called *maysir*. One *qidḥ* produces a sound different from the other ones. This idiom is used for a man who pretends to belong to a tribe to which he does not, or is proud of an attribute that he does not actually have.

[182] *Majmaʿ al-Bayān* (Sidon), vol. 2, pp. 538–39.

[183] *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 5, p. 559.

[184] Abū ʿAmr Yūsuf Ibn ʿAbdillāh Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr, *al-Istīʿāb* (al-Fajālah: Maktabat al-Nahḍah, 1380 AH), vol. 4, pp. 1839–41, Biographical Note on God's Messenger's daughter Ruqayyah.

[185] *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 4, p. 1952, Biographical Note on God's Messenger's daughter Umm Kulthūm.

[186] *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 4, pp. 1841–42.

[187] Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwah* (1st ed.), vol. 1, p. 96:

When God revealed the verse *Perish the hands of Abū Lahab*, Abū Lahab told his sons, ʿUtaybah and ʿUtbah: "I will disown you (*raʾsī wa ruʾūsukumā harām*) if you do not divorce Muhammad's daughters." The Prophet asked ʿUtbah to divorce Ruqayyah, and Ruqayyah asked the same. Umm Jamīl bint Ḥarb Ibn Umayyah—the firewood carrier—said: "Divorce her, son, because she is childish." So he divorced her, and ʿUtaybah divorced Umm Kulthūm. He came to the Prophet when he left Umm Kulthūm and said: "I do not believe in your religion and I have left your daughter. You do not like me and I do not like you." He then overpowered God's Messenger and tore his shirt. Thereafter, God's Messenger said: "Surely I ask God to let His dog overpower you." He then set off with a band of Quraysh. They stayed the night in a place in the Levant called al-Zarqāʾ, but a lion circled them that night and ʿUtbah began saying: "Woe upon my mother. By God he is going to eat me as per Muhammad's curse. Abū Kabshah's son has killed me in the Levant, from Mecca." The lion roared at him out of all the group, seized his head, bit hard on it, and killed him. [SR: The Quraysh used to call the Prophet "Abū Kabshah's son" because the Prophet's wet-nurse Ḥalīmah al-Saʿdiyyah was the wife of Ḥārith Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, whose nickname was Abū Kabshah].

Ibn Athīr narrates this in *al-Nihāyah*, vol. 3, p. 420, under art. *fadagha* ("it rended").

[188] Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwah*, vol. 1, p. 97.

[189] *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 1, pp. 359–60. Ḥassān Ibn Thābit's son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān rebuked and satirized him because of that, saying about ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ḥakam:

إن اللعين ابوك فارم عظامه ان ترم ترم مخلجا مجنونا

يمسي خميص البطن عمل التقى ويظل من عمل الخبيث بطينا

The cursed one is your father, so reproach his bones, trembling possessed when you reproach

He wakes in the late afternoon with an empty stomach, acting piously but still pot-bellied from evildoing.

[191] "Effendi" was a title given to a chief in the Ottoman Government. Because at that time Ottomans ruled Iraq, he was sent there as a governor. The Ottomans were all Sunnis.

[192] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Cairo: Amīriyyah, 1312 AH), vol. 4, p. 202, *Kitāb al-Manāqib* (*The Book on Virtues*); *al-Ashʿathiyyāt*, p. 200, *Kitāb al-Janāʾiz* (*The Book on Funerals*), "Chapter on Visiting the Sick." Imam Ṣādiq

relates it from his forefathers, one after the other, right up to the Master of the Faithful. He adds the following at the end: "The man then died from that illness, but God's Messenger did perform the funeral prayer for him."

[193] Ibn Taymiyyah, *Minhāj al-Sunnah* (n.p., n.p., n.d.), vol. 4, pp. 9–14.

[194] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 264–66.

[195] *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 1, p. 10.

[196] *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 1, p. 12.

[197] "Heard him" (*simāᶜan*) means he heard directly from God's Messenger without any intermediary; "saw him" (*ruᵓyatan*) means [the narrator] saw the Messenger, but is relating the hadith from [the Prophet] via an intermediary.

[198] ᶜAmwās is a village, six miles away from Ramla on the road to Jerusalem. The plague started there in 18 AH and then spread throughout the Levant. An innumerable number of companions died of it.

[199] *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 1, pp. 3–6.

[200] Sayyid Muhammad Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr al-Manār* (Beirut: Dār al-Maᶜrifah, n.d.) vol. 6, p. 464.

[201] *al-Mīzān fī Tafsīr al-Qurᵓān*, vol. 6, pp. 56–59.

[202] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 3, p. 340 says:

> He is Abū al-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā Ibn Ismāᶜīl Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Hasan, son of the [Prophet's] grandson Imam Hasan, son of Imam Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. However, Muhammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm was known as the son of the Khuzāᶜiyyah, and called Muhammad Aṣghar (the younger), and his teknonym was not Abū al-Hasan. Our poet, Muhammad Ibn Aḥmad, known as Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, came two generations after him. His teknonym was Abū al-Hasan, and he lived a century after him. Hence, he was Abū al-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad al-Aṣghar, known as the son of the Khuzāᶜiyyah, the son of Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā.

[203] Another edition says: *bi al-riwāyāt al-daniyyah*, "with lowly narrations."

[204] *Farāᵓid al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, p. 135, chapter 22; Zarandī, *Naẓm Durar al-Simṭayn*, p. 111.

[205] This is an allusion to an indubitable hadith narrated by both Shiᶜa and Sunnis: "God's Messenger said: 'I am a city of knowledge and Ali is its gate, so whoever wants to enter it must pass through its gate.'"

[206] Fu'ād Kirmānī, *Sham'-i Jam'* (*The Candle of Absorption*) (n.p., n.p., n.d.), p. 212.
[207] *Ṣīd* is the plural of *aṣyad*, which means either "king" or "lion."
[208] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib* (lithograph), vol. 1, p. 540; he says that it is anonymous, but *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, p. 319 says that is by Fanjkirdī, and adds a further two couplets:

يَقول احمد خيرُ المرسلين ضُحى في مجمع حضرته البيض والسُّودُ
والحمد لله حمداً لا انقضاء له له الصنايع والالطاف والجود

Aḥmad the best of envoys says in the presence of all gathered, whites and blacks
Praise without end be to God. His are all the creations, graces, and benefaction.

[209] *Ḥawla, ḥawlay, ḥawāla,* and *ḥawālay* all mean the sides around something. One can say: *qa'da ḥawlahu / ḥawlayhi / ḥawālahu / ḥawālayhi* meaning he sat on the sides around that thing or person. Note that even though it is now common to do so, it is wrong to say *ḥawālī*, e.g. *Madīnat Ray ḥawālī Ṭahrān* ("The city of Ray is on the outskirts of Tehran"). It should be *ḥawālay Ṭahrān*. Note that *ḥawālī* is the plural of *ḥawlī* [which means a yearling or wether].
[210] *al-Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, p. 540. This hadith appears in its entirety in *al-Iqbāl*, introduced by the author as follows:

We have narrated via our aforementioned chain of transmission back to a Shaykh whose narration is reliable, Muhammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Dāwūd, in *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*:

Abū Ali Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Ammār Kūfī told us:

My father told us:

Ali Ibn Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Faḍḍāl related from Muhammad Ibn 'Abdillāh Ibn Zurārah that Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abī Naṣr said:

We were in the presence of [Imam] Riḍā, the gathering was heaving with people, and they were talking to each other about Ghadīr Day. Some people disapproved of it, so [Imam] Riḍā said: "My father has related to me from his father, peace be upon them..." and he related the narration as above. The end says:

ثم التفت فقال لي: يا ابن أبي نصر أينما كنت فاحضر يوم الغدير عند أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام فإن الله تبارك وتعالى يغفر لكل مؤمن ومؤمنة ومُسلم ومسلمة ذنوب ستين سنة ويعتق من النار ضعف ما اعتق من شهر رمضان وليلة القدر وليلة الفطر ولدرهم فيه بألف درهم لاخوانك العارفين وأفضل على إخوانك في هذا اليوم وسرّ فيه كلّ مؤمن ومؤمنة ثمّ قال: يا اهل الكوفة لقد أعطيتم خيراً كثيراً وانتكم لممن امتحن الله قلبه للإيمان، مستذلّون مقهورون ممتحنون يصبّ البلاء عليهم صبّاً ثمّ يكشفه كاشف الكرب العظيم والله لو عرف الناس فضل هذا اليوم بحقيقته لصافحتهم الملائكة في كلّ يوم عشر مرّات.

Then, he turned and said to me:

> O son of Abū Naṣr! No matter where you may be, come to the Master of the Faithful on Ghadīr Day because on that day, the Blessed and Transcendent God forgives sixty years' worth of sins for every believer, male or female, and every Muslim, male or female, and frees from Hell twice as many as He does in the Month of Ramaḍān, the Night of Decree, and the Eve of [ʿĪd] al-Fiṭr. Lo, on [that day], a dirham is worth a thousand dirhams [donated] to your knowing brothers on any other day. And on that Day, give to your brothers, and make every believer, male or female, happy.

He then said:

> O people of Kufa! You have been given abundance (*khayran kathīran*), and you are of those whose hearts God has tested for faith, subdued, subjugated, tested, Him pouring tribulation copiously onto you. Then, the Reliever (Kāshif) of great sorrow relieves it. By God, if people truly knew the virtue of that day, the angels would shake their hands ten times a day.

[211] *Ibn Shahr Āshūb, al-Manāqib* vol. 1, p. 540 quotes this much of the sermon. It is from the middle. The original text of this sermon is in Shaykh Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, and it is very lengthy, taking up five large, twenty-one-line pages.

[212] Shaykh Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid* (n.p., lithograph, n.d.), pp. 524–29. Before setting out the sermon, he says:

We were told by a group quoting Abū Muhammad Hārūn Ibn Mūsā Talᶜakbarī: Abū Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Aḥmad Khorāsānī Ḥājib (Chamberlain) in the month of Ramaḍān 337, saying:

Saᶜīd Ibn Hārūn Abū Omar Marvazī, who was over eighty, told us:

Fayyāḍ Ibn Muhammad Ibn Omar Ṭūsī, who had reached ninety, told us in Ṭūs in the year 259 that he had seen Abū al-Hasan Ali Ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā on Ghadīr Day, a number of his close friends in his presence, whom he had "detained" for breakfast. He had already sent to their houses food, charity, gifts, and clothing—even rings and sandals to wear. He had already changed their and their servants' lives. He had new furnishing, not the usual one, having given it away prior to the day. He was lecturing on the virtue and superiority of the day, and he said *inter alia*:

My father, the Guide, told me from my grandfather [Imam] Ṣādiq:

My father, [Imam] Bāqir, told me from the Master of Worshipers (Sayyid al-ᶜĀbidīn) that his father Husayn said:

Once, during my father's Caliphate, the Ghadīr happened to fall on a Friday, and five hours into that day, my father climbed the pulpit and praised and glorified God with praise the like of which had never been heard, and glorified Him with glorification with which no one had ever turned to Him. That of it which was recorded is

الحمد لله الّذی جعل الحمد من غیر حاجة منه الی حامدیه طریقاً من طرق

الاعتراف بلاهوتیّته وصَمَدانیته وربّانیّته وفردانیّته...

"Praise be to God Who without His needing any praisers made praise one way to acknowledge His Divinity, Everlastingness, Divineness, and Probativity..." and so on up to the end of the sermon, which contains true knowledge and wisdom and explains the essence of Ghadīr Day.

Sayyid Ṭāwūs, may God be pleased with him, quotes the entire sermon along with Imam Riḍā's introduction (*al-Iqbāl*, pp. 461–64).

[213] *Ibn Shahr Āshūb, al-Manāqib*, vol. 1, p. 540. Fanjkird is a village in Nīshāpūr County. Fanjkirdi was a sixth-century poet to the Household. His name was Shaykh Abū al-Hasan Ali Ibn Aḥmad. There is a biographical note on him in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, pp. 319–25.

[214] *Ibn Shahr Āshūb, al-Manāqib*, vol. 1, p. 540; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, p. 34. The poet is Bashnavī Kurdī, a fourth-century luminary. He was an expert on Shiʿism and a praiser of the Infallible Household. Bashnavī wrote other excellent poems about ʿĪd al-Ghadīr including

وَقَد شهدوا عيد الغدير وأسمعوا مقالَ رسول الله من غير كتمان

أَلَستُ بكم أولى من الناس كلّهم فقالوا بلى يا أفضل الإنس والجان...

as quoted in the main body of the text.

[215] *Ibn Shahr Āshūb, al-Manāqib*, vol. 1, p. 534; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, p. 34; according to *al-Manāqib*, couplet 5 reads

فلبى مجيبا

"So he responded obediently," but according to *al-Ghadīr*, it reads

قلب مجيبا

("heart responsive"). According to *al-Manāqib* the last line reads

وَدَان مَدانيه لا تنصر الثّانى

"and be close to whoever is close to him and do not help whoever hates him," but according to *al-Ghadīr* it reads:

وعاد الذى عاداه واغضب على الثّانى

[be...] an enemy to whoever is his enemy; be angry with whoever hates him.

[216] Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Kashf al-Maḥajjah* (n.p., lithograph, n.d.), pp. 124–25, sections 103 and 104. Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs titles section 13: *Kashf al-Maḥajjah li Thamarat al-Muhjah* ("Revealing the Proof of the Fruit of the Soul") or *Isʿād Thamarat al-Fuʾād ʿalā Saʿādat al-Dunyā wa al-Maʿād* ("Helping the Fruit of the Heart Achieve Happiness in this World and in the Resurrection") or *Kashf al-Maḥajjah bi Akuff al-Ḥujjah* ("Revelation of the Proof at the Hands of the Proof").

As he says in section 13 and similarly in section 9 of this book, he was living to see 649 AH. The middle of Muḥarram just before noon would mean the beginning of the sixty-first year of his life because he was born before noon on a Thursday in the middle of Muḥarram, in the year 589, in the town of Ḥillah Sayfiyyah.

His son Muhammad had lived for six full years and was starting his seventh. His [younger] son Ali had lived for two full years and was starting his third. This book takes the form of advice to his two sons Muhammad and Ali, and whichever of his community and loved ones might benefit from it—even though it is addressed to his son Muhammad: "O my son Muhammad!" That is why the Shiʿa highly respect and value this book, and active scholars and good students keep it in their pockets. The Late Mīrzā Muhammad Ṭahrānī, the maternal uncle of my father, always advised me to keep this book in my pocket.

[217] SR: i.e. while standing, supplicating with one's hands cupped before one's face.

[218] SR: figuratively

[219] SR: The women are also seeking their Beloved—i.e. God—but obviously they are not bareheaded or [practically] barefooted.

[220] SR: The *nākithīn*, i.e. Ayishe, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and their forces, broke their pledge of allegiance and fought against Imam Ali at the Battle of the Camel. The *qāsiṭīn*, i.e. Muʿāwiyah and his forces, fought against Imam Ali at Ṣiffīn. The *māriqīn* were the Khārijites who fought against Imam Ali at Nahrawān. As stated repeatedly in previous volumes, in a famous hadith likening the religion to blood and guts and them to arrows, they shoot straight through the religion without any of it sticking to them. "Through-and-through" is a ballistics term that most closely captures the Arabic idiom.

[221] *al-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf*, pp. 221–22.

[222] Muhammad Ibn Ṭalḥah Shāfiʿī, *Maṭālib al-Saʾūl* (n.p., lithograph, n.d.), p. 16.

[223] Abū al-ʿAbbās Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān fi Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Zamān* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir & Dār al-Thiqāfah, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 180.

[224] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 270–72.

[225] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 270–73.

[226] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 272–73.

[227] *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, section 13, p. 77.

[228] *Manāqib al-Khārazmī* (Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, n.d.), p. 94.

[229] *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 4, p. 281.

[230] Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Ali al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād aw Madīnat al-Salām* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, n.d.), says after quoting this narration about the reward for sixty months' fasting for whoever fasts on the day of ʿĪd al-Ghadīr:

"This hadith is known as Ḥabshūn's Narration. It is said that he is the only narrator. Aḥmad Ibn ᶜAbdillāh Nayyirī has followed Ḥabshūn in relating this hadith." After quoting the hadith in a biographical note on Ḥabshūn under the letter *Ḥā'*, Khaṭīb says: "Ḥabshun used to live at Baghdad's Basra Gate." He also says: "Azharī informed me that Ali Ibn Omar al-Ḥāfiẓ (the Memorizer) had told him that Ḥabshūn Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ayyūb was exceedingly truthful (*ṣadūq*)." Ibn Kathīr Dimashqī narrates this hadith from Ḥabshūn in *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 214. He says: "Ḥabshūn and Aḥmad Ibn ᶜAbdillāh Ibn Nayyirī, who are both exceedingly truthful (*ṣadūqān*), relate it from Ali Ibn Saᶜīd Ramlī, from Ḍamurah."

[231] *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 8, p. 290. Khaṭīb Baghdādī died in 463 AH.

[232] Abū al-Qāsim Ali Ibn Husayn Ibn Hibatillāh Shāfiᶜī (Ibn ᶜAsākir), *Tārīkh Dimashq* (Beirut: Dār al-Taᶜāruf li al-Maṭbūᶜāt, 1395 AH), vol. 2, p. 48, hadith 547.

[233] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 2, p. 76, hadith 576.

[234] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 2, p. 77, hadith 577.

[235] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 2, p. 87, hadith 588.

[236] *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, vol. 1, p. 156, narration 210.

[237] *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, vol. 1, p. 158, narration 213.

[238] *Tafsīr al-Fakhr al-Rāzī* (Cairo: al-ᶜĀmirah, n.d.) published as footnotes to *Tafsīr Abī al-Saᶜūd*, vol. 3, p. 636.

[239] *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, published as footnotes to *al-Fiṣal* (n.p., n.p., n.d.), pp. 220–21.

[240] SR: Translated as such here to fit Ibn Ḥajar Haytamī's interpretation.

[241] *al-Ṣawāᶜiq al-Muḥriqah*, p. 26.

[242] Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *Sirr al-ᶜĀlamīn wa Kashf Mā fī al-Dārayn* (Najaf, Nuᶜmān, 1385 AH), p. 21. In *Knowing the Imams*, vol. 8, lessons 118–20, we prove that *Sirr al-ᶜĀlamīn* is by Ghazālī. Accordingly, no attention should be paid to the great scholar Sayyid Jaᶜfar Murtaḍā ᶜĀmilī's challenge to this book's being attributable to Ghazālī, in *Turāthunā* magazine, Year 1, Fall 1406 AH, Issue 2, pp. 97–98, because, Ghazālī's (b. 450 AH) never having possibly met Maᶜarrī (d. 450 AH) only proves tampering with one passage, not with the entire book and all its chapters. There are frequent references to Abū Ḥāmid, and Sayyid Jaᶜfar contends that Ghazālī would not have referred to himself as such so he could not be the author.

However, Sayyid Jaʿfar does concede that this could have been a mistake made by the copyist who must have meant Ibn Ḥāmid, i.e. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥāmid, the chief Ḥanbalī of Ghazālī's time. The book also attributes a number of works to Ghazālī that are not listed as his anywhere else. However, so long as these particular books along with their subjects and contents cannot be proven to have been written by any other author, we ought not consider that they are not by Ghazālī, because it is possible that they were written by him but then became lost after he died. There are many such instances.

[243] This is an Arabic idiom that means "There is no civilization beyond Abadan!" The allusion is to the matter ending here and there being nothing further to be said.

[244] The term *al-muʾallafatu qulūbuhum*, often translated as "those whose hearts are made to incline," refers to a group of people for whom a particular share is assigned in the Glorious Qurʾan to stop their enmity towards and constant dispute with the Muslims, and as an incentive to embrace Islam.

[245] *Kashf al-Maḥajjah* (lithograph), pp. 107–15, section 98.

[246] *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 4, p. 208 says: "Abū al-Haytham Ibn al-Tayyihān is Ibn Mālik Ibn ʿUtayk Ibn ʿAmr. Some people say his name was Mālik. He was a Badr veteran, and was present at the pledge of allegiance at al-ʿAqabah. God's Messenger made him and Othman Ibn Maẓʿūn brothers. Many say that he was killed at the Battle of Ṣiffīn".

[247] Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Iqbāl*, pp. 459–61.

[248] Apart from Ṭāriq Ibn Shihāb relating this narration in *Taysīr al-Wuṣūl* (n.p., n.p., n.d.), p. 222, Muslim, Bukhārī, Tirmidhī, Nasāʾī, and Mālik have also related it in their books.

[249] *al-Iqbāl*, p. 458.

[250] Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm Kūfī, *Tafsīr Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm* (Beirut: n.p., n.d.); Ibid. (Najaf: n.p., n.d.).

[251] Abū Saʿīd Khargūshī Nīshāpūrī, *Sharaf al-Mustafā* (n.p., n.p., n.d.).

[252] *Tafsīr Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm; Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 215.

[253] *Furūʿ al-Kāfi* (Najaf: al-Maṭbaʿat al-Ḥaydariyyah, n.d.), vol. 2, pp. 48 and 149; *Kitāb al-Ṣiyām* (*The Book on Fasting*), Ṣiyām al-Targhīb; Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Iqbāl*, p. 465; *Kitāb al-Ṣiyām* (*The Book on Fasting*), from the narration of Ali Ibn Hasan Faḍḍāl, from Hasan Ibn Rāshid, saying that that day is the eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah and that fasting on that day is recommended for a person as well as seeking Honorable and Exalted God's favor by doing good deeds; Shaykh Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, pp. 512–13; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 215.

[254] Note that the person asking the question wanted to know the date of Ghadīr Day as per the solar seasons and months. The Imam stopped him and said that the way to calculate days, festivals, and so on is in accordance with the lunar, not the solar, calendar. ʿĪd al-Ghadīr is the eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah in the lunar calendar. Its date is not set by the solar calendar because lunar dates are constantly changing in the solar calendar. For example, one year ʿĪd al-Ghadīr may fall in spring, which is Aries, another in Gemini, another in summer—in Cancer—and so on. Because religious affairs are calculated by the lunar calendar, there is no point in ascertaining them in or applying them to the solar calendar.

Hence, the Imam asked the man who had put the question: "What use is the day to you? Every year is different." Hence, this narration and the one we quote later on, from Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm, from the Imam: "The days may come earlier or later..." As the narrator says:

قلت: وای یوم هو فی السنة فقال لی: ان الایام تتقدم وتتأخر ورما کان فی السبت...

"I asked: 'And which day is it in the year?' and so he told me: 'Surely, the days come earlier or later. It may be on a Saturday ...'" We discussed this in detail in *Knowing the Imams*, vol. 6, Lessons 83–90, and also in *Risāla-yi Nuvīn dar Binā'-i Islām bar Sāl va Māh-i Qamarī* (*A New Treatise on Islam's Reliance on Lunar Months*).

[255] *Furūʿ al-Kāfi* (Najaf: al-Maṭbaʿat al-Ḥaydariyyah, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 149; *al-Iqbāl*, p. 465; *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 512; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, pp. 215–16.

[256] *al-Iqbāl*, p. 465.

[257] *al-Iqbāl*, p. 446; *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 512; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, pp. 215–16 on the authority of Mufaḍḍal Ibn Omar quoting Imam Ṣādiq.

[258] *al-Iqbāl*, p. 466.

[259] *al-Iqbāl*, p. 466.

[260] Our master, ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī, may God be pleased with him, explains fully in *al-Mīzān*, vol. 1, pp. 322–27 that in

وکذلك جعلناکم امة وسطاً لتکونوا شهداء علی الناس ویکون الرسول علیکم شهیدا

And thus We have made you a justly balanced nation that you may be witnesses to all people and the Messenger be a witness to you (2:143), *justly balanced nation* does not refer to the entire nation, because the heading *witnesses to all people* means cognizance of the whole world's deeds and secrets. Whoever lacks this knowledge cannot be a witness to all people on the Day of Resurrection. Therefore, *a justly balanced nation* has to refer to specific individuals within the nation who know people's secrets, intentions, and insides in order to be competent as witnesses and to testify on the Day of Resurrection. So this is exclusive to the Infallible Imams and God's Friends, witnesses to all people's deeds. The Prophet in turn is a witness to their deeds.

Therefore, based on this explanation, the Master of the Faithful is indeed from God's Messenger's nation, and he alone belongs to this group.

[261] *al-Iqbāl*, pp. 466–67.

[262] The narration up to here is cited in *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 513.

[263] This ending appears in *al-Iqbāl*, p. 474.

[264] *al-Khiṣāl* (n.p., Ḥaydarī, n.d.), p. 264, ch. 4.

[265] i.e. a supplication with one's hands cupped, palms facing upwards, level with one's face.

[266] *al-Iqbāl*, pp. 474–75.

[267] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 286–87.

[268] As an exclamation of astonishment at something remarkable or outlandish, it translates roughly as "God is clear of this!"

[269] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 286–87.

[270] *al-Iqbāl*, p. 464.

[271] *al-Iqbāl*, p. 476.

[272] SR: i.e. in a different town or country.

[273] *al-Iqbāl*, p. 474.

[274] Shaykh Ṭūsī relates this salutation, up to here, on the authority of Jābir al-Juᶜfī in *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, pp. 514–15.

[275] Shaykh ᶜAbbās Qummī, *al-Kunā wa al-Alqāb* (Sidon: al-ᶜIrfān, 1358 AH), vol. 3, p. 299, and Shaykh ᶜAbdullāh Māmqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl*, vol. 2, p. 311 (n.p., lithograph, 1349–52 AH), say:

> On his father's side, Ali Ibn Ṭāwūs was descended from Ṭāwūs the Hasanid, as follows: Ali Ibn Mūsā Ibn Jaᶜfar Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad al-Ṭāwūsī Ibn Isḥāq Ibn Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Dāwūd Ibn Hasan al-Muthannā Ibn al-Imam al-Mujtabā al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. On his mother's side, he is the grandson of Ibn Idrīs, the grandson of Shaykh Ṭūsī. His full sibling was Sayyid Aḥmad Ibn Ṭāwūs. Muhammad Ali Mudarris,

Rayḥānat al-Adab (Tabriz: Kitābfurūshī Khayyām, 1346 AH), vol. 8, p. 76.)

[276] *al-Iqbāl*, pp. 470–71.

[277] *al-Iqbāl*, pp. 476; *Biḥār al-Anwār* (n.p., Kompānī, 1302 AH), vol. 20, p. 314.

[278] Lexically, a *fi'āmi* means a group of people. The Imam particularizes this here as a group of a hundred thousand people to explain just how great the reward is. [SR: Ten *fi'āms* is obviously a million.]

[279] *al-Iqbāl*, p. 464.

[280] *Maᶜād Shināsī*, vol. 1, Lessons 9–10; vol. 9, Lesson 63.

[281] Abū al-Fidā' al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Kathīr Dimashqī, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah* (Cairo: al-Saᶜādah, 1351 AH), vol. 5, pp. 213–14.

[282] SR: In Islamic Law a plaintiff's oral testimony in support of his own claim is normally inadmissible, and oral testimony from an independent witness to corroborate his claim is normally required to prove his claim. There are exceptions. In English Law, however, a claimant's oral testimony in support of his own claim is admissible and is assessed on criteria such as credibility and internal consistency. Hence, an analogy more comprehensible to English and north American readers would be to say that it is like allowing someone to be a judge in his own cause in breach of the principle of *nemo judex in causa sua*.

[283] *Tafsīr al-Fakhr al-Rāzī* (Maṭbaᶜat Saᶜādat), vol. 7, p. 477.

[284] Abū al-Fidā' Ismāᶜīl Ibn Omar Ibn Kathīr Dimashqī, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Karīm* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.), vol. 6, p. 262. This narration is related in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Cairo: Bulāq (al-Amīriyyah), 1312 AH), vol. 8, *Kitāb Riqāq*, pp. 98–99 from Abū Hurayrah and Ayishe. Abū Hurayrah's narration adds this sentence:

سَدِّدوا، وقارِبُوا واغدُوا، وروحُوا، وشَيء من الدُلجَة، والقصدَ والقصدَ تبلغوا.

"Teach, think, go out in the morning, go out in the evening, a little after nightfall and convey the meaning, the meaning!"

[285] *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī* (Cairo: Bulāq), vol. 8, p. 105, *Kitāb al-Riqāq*. The beginning of this narration, up to "And if he asks me for anything, I will certainly give it to him," appears in *Kalimatullāh*, p. 68, and on p. 519 [the author] says:

> One original appearance of this narration is in Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, narrating from ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ḥamādah, from Ḥannān Ibn Sudayr, from Imam Ṣādiq. The other [original appearances] are in *al-Kāfī*, vol. 2, p. 352,

via three chains of transmission: i) from Abū Ali Ashᶜarī, from Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbd al-Jabbār, from Muhammad Ibn Yaḥyā, and from Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn ᶜĪsā, both of whom narrate from Ibn Faḍḍāl, from Ali Ibn ᶜAqabah, from Ḥammād Ibn Bashīr, from Imam Ṣādiq, from God's Messenger; ii) a number of our co-religionists from Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khālid Barqī, from Ismāᶜīl Ibn Mehrān, from Abū Saᶜīd Qammāṭ, from Abān Ibn Taghlib, from Imam Bāqir; and iii) a number of our co-religionists from Sahl Ibn Ziyād, from Hasan Ibn Maḥbūb, from Hishām Ibn Sālim, from Muᶜallā Ibn Khunays, from Imam Ṣādiq, from God's Messenger. This narration appears in many books. The Sunnis relate various wordings.

Ayatollah Ḥājj Mīrzā Jawād Āqā Mālikī Tabrīzī, may God be pleased with him, says in *Liqāʾullah*: "This *hadith qudsī* is accepted by all Muslims." Imam Muhammad Ghazālī quotes it in *Iḥyāʾ ᶜUlūm al-Dīn* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜArabiyyah, 1334 AH), vol. 4, p. 263; in *Kitāb al-Maḥabbah wa al-Shawq ilā Allāh*, and at the bottom of the page, Iraqi counts it as Bukharī's narration from Abū Hurayrah. We cite it in *Maᶜād Shināsī* (*Knowing the Resurrection*), vol. 1, Lesson 9. The end of this hadith, i.e. "And I have never delayed in doing anything..." appears, albeit worded differently, in Shaykh Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī* (Najaf: lithograph, 1384 AH), vol. 2, p. 29; *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1376–94 AH) quoting Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*; al-Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, p. 160; *Kitāb al-Ṣafwah wa al-Nūr wa al-Raḥmah*, Bāb al-Infirād, via two other chains: i) From Fuḍayl, from Abū Ḥamzah Thumālī, from Imam Ṣādiq, and, ii) From Ibn Faḍḍal, from Abū Jamīlah, from Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Ḥalabī, from Imam Ṣādiq, as cited in *Knowing the Imams*, vol. 1, Lesson 8.

[286] Ibn Mājah Qazvīnī, *Sunan Ibn Mājah* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-Arabiyyah, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 551; Bāb Ṣiyām al-ᶜAshar, *Iḥyāʾ ᶜUlūm al-Dīn*, vol. 1, p. 213.

[287] *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 272, from Damyāṭī on the merit in doing so.

[288] These are couplets from *al-Qaṣīdat al-Kawthariyyah* by blessed Sayyid Riḍā Hindī ᶜArabī, may God have mercy upon him. We quote the entire ode in *Knowing the Imams*, vol. 7, Lessons 102–7.

[289] *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 191.

[290] Ḥājj Shaykh Hasan Muṣṭafawī (editor and author of the introduction), *Miṣbāḥ al-Sharīᶜah* (Tehran: Markaz Nashr Kitāb, 1379 AH), chapter 7.

[291] *Safīnat al-Biḥār*, vol. 2, pp. 503–4.

[292] *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 158. The entire sermon is quoted at the beginning of *Makārim al-Akhlāq* (n.p., lithograph, 1314 AH), by Shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Hasan Ibn Faḍl Ṭabarsī, one of the greatest Shi'a scholars of the sixth century. He based the entire book on this sermon. *Makārim al-Akhlāq* is a valuable book that addresses important issues. Pious scholars always used to carry it with them, both when traveling and when in residence.

[293] Ṭabarī and Ibn Athīr Jazarī both record in their history books, and Muḥaddith Qummī quotes them verbatim, as saying:

> When Husayn was left with three or four others, he asked for an eye-catching, strongly-stitched pair of trousers, Yemeni and well stitched. He then ripped them, and picked at the stitching so that they would not be stripped off him. A companion asked him: "What if you wear a brief (*tubbān*) under them!" He replied: "That is the clothing of humiliation, and I should not wear it." Thereafter, when he was killed, Baḥr Ibn Ka'b stripped him, leaving him naked. Tabarī, *Tārikh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk* (*The History of Nations and Kings*) (Cairo: al-Istiqāmah, 1358 AH), vol. 4, p. 245; (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif), vol. 5, p. 451; *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārikh* (Beirut: n.p. 1358 AH), vol. 4, p. 77; Ḥājj Shaykh 'Abbās Qummī, *Nafas al-Mahmūm* (n.p. Islāmiyyah, 1368 AH), pp. 224–25.

The reason we quote this narration is that the Imam considered shorts to be humiliating, and he refused to wear them. Based on this Islamic tradition, Muslims refuse to wear any short clothing, unlike non-Muslims, amongst whom it is common to do so.

SR: There are examples of shorts being used to humiliate people in the West, e.g. during the Apartheid era in South Africa when black members of the ANC were forced to wear shorts to their trials.

[294] A *qalansuvah* or *qulansiyyah* is a type of headgear. There are various shapes. The plural is *qalānis*, *qalānīs*, *qalās*, or *qalāsī*.

[295] A *burṭul* is a type of *qalansuvah*, which protects the head from the heat of the sun.

[296] Teak (*sāj*) is a huge tree, the wood of which is one of the hardest there is.

[297] This is all referred to in *Kanz al-'Ummāl* (Hyderabad: n.p., 1378 AH), vol. 7, pp. 72–73. (SR: A *sutrah* is an object that a person who is praying places in front of him to discourage passers-by from passing in front of him. In Sunni jurisprudence it invalidates a person's prayer if someone passes between him and his *sutrah*, but in Shi'a jurisprudence it does not, because as explained by Imam Kāẓim when he was still a boy and not yet Imam (i.e. during his father's

lifetime), He to whom he was praying (i.e. God) is closer to him than his jugular vein, as per Qur'an 50:16.)

[298] *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 6, p. 155 (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1376–94), vol. 16, pp. 250–51, on the authority of *al-Nubuwwah*, which in turn relates from Anas Ibn Mālik.

[299] *al-Nihāyah*, vol. 1, p. 199.

[300] Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī Shāfiʿī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Halabī wa Awlādihi, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 70; *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, vol. 19, p. 222.

[301] *Kunūz al-Ḥaqā'iq fī Ḥadīth Khayr al-Khalā'iq*, printed as commentary in the margin of Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr*, p. 21.

[302] Sayyid Muhammad Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Wāsiṭī al-Zubaydī al-Ḥanafī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿat al-Khayriyyat al-Jamāliyyah 1374 AH), vol. 2, p. 12, art. *t-w-j*.

[303] A *mighfar* is worn under the helmet and fez in battle.

[304] *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, vol. 8, p. 410, art. *ʿ-m-m*.

[305] Mu'min Ibn Hasan Mu'min Shiblanjī, *Nūr al-Abṣār fī Manāqib Āl Bayt al-Nabī al-Mukhtār* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Ḥājj ʿAbd al-Salām, 1374 AH), p. 25.

[306] *Farā'id al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, pp. 75–76, chapter 12, hadiths 41–42.

[308] *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*, vol. 1, p. 76, chapter 12, hadith 43.

[309] This narration is related in *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl* (Hyderabad), vol. 19, p. 222, from Ṭayālisī and Bayhaqī, from Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.

[310] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 291.

[311] *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl* (Hyderabad, n.p., 1391 AH), vol. 19, pp. 222–23.

[312] ibid., p. 223.

Qur'anic References

2: 30, 113
2:156, 67
2:181, 114
2:258, 121, 193
3:61, 175
3:68, 158
3:110, 176
3:121, 113
3:159, 164
4:50, 65
4:59, 19
4:95, 74
5:3, 20, 155, 156, 168, 169, 171, 190, 192
5:55, 11, 19
5:67, 50, 157, 177, 180
5:114–15, 131
6:83,3
7:26, 199, 200
7:43, 150
7:142, 80
8:31, 117
8:32, 94, 113, 115
8:33, 115
8:34, 115
9:16, 19
9:25, 77, 163
9:26, 77
9:31, 79
9:40, 76
9:74, 196
9:100, 18
9:113, 111
9:119, 22
10:32–33, 101
10:48, 42
11:40, 66
11:114, 111
12:31, 144
12:32, 144
12:103, 66
14:21, 136
14:34, 178
17:60, 62
18:30–31, 199
18:34–35, 77
18:103–6, 102
20:29–35, 81
22:23–24, 199
22:77–78, 23
26:204, 92
33:21, 203, 205
33:33, 22, 161
33:57, 104
33:67–68, 136
34:13, 66
38:24, 66
38:81, 72
39:7, 150
39:36, 112
40:47, 136
41:13–18, 116
44:51–53, 199
44:51–59, 194
47:11, 156
48:10, 150
53:3–4, 149
56:10, 18
56:10–11, 72
58:12, 164
58:13, 164
61:8, 60
62:11, 163
70: 1, 89, 90, 91, 96, 105, 111, 112, 125
70:1–3, 87
76:1, 75
76:5, 75
76:8, 75
85:8, 196
111:1–5, 118

Index

A

Aaron, 4, 13, 22, 50, 57, 66, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 137, 147, 174
ᶜAbbād, Ṣāḥib Ibn, 5, 84
ᶜAbbās, ᶜAbdullāh Ibn, 17, 59, 61, 64, 65, 77, 94, 112, 153, 157, 163, 209, 210,
ᶜAbbās, Faḍl Ibn, 65, 163
ᶜAbbāsī, Hādī, 110
Abbasids, 82
ᶜAbdān, 124
ᶜAbdī, Abū Hārūn ᶜAmmār Ibn Ḥarīz, 178
ᶜAbdī, Abū Hurayrah, *see* Hurayrah, Abū
ᶜAbdī, Ali Ibn Hasan Ibn Ali, 187
ᶜAbdī, Ali Ibn Husayn, 183
ᶜAbdillāh, Aḥmad Ibn ᶜĪsā Ibn, 208
ᶜAbdillāh, Ḥāfiẓ Abū, 42
ᶜAbdillāh, Jābir Ibn, 17
ᶜAbdillāh, Muhammad Ibn, 185
ᶜAbdillāh, Saᶜd Ibn, 16
ᶜAbdillāh, Sharīk Ibn, 24
ᶜAbduh, Shaykh Muhammad, 125, 126
ᶜAbdullāh (son of Othman Ibn ᶜAffān), 118
Abīh, Ziyād Ibn, 58
Abraham, 3, 18, 23, 158, 164, 174, 182
Abrū, Ḥāfiẓ, 99
abṭaḥ, 89, 93, 106, 107, 109, 110
Abṭaḥ, 106, 108, 109, 110
Abū Hurayrah al-Maḍīrah, 67
Adam, 18, 174, 200
ᶜAdī, ᶜAbd al-Aᶜlā Ibn, 209ᶜAdī, al-Haytham Ibn al-, 167
ᶜAdī, Muṭᶜim Ibn, 117
Adjurement Hadith, 11
Adjuration Hadith, narrators of, 28
ᶜAdwī, 36
Aḥmad, 30
Aḥmad, Ḥāfiẓ Abū Ali Hasan Ibn, 10
Aḥmad, Muwaffaq Ibn, 38, 42
Aḥnaf, Furāt Ibn, 171
Aktham, Yaḥyā Ibn, 69, 70, 81
ᶜĀlam, Shaykh Muhammad Maḥbūb al-, 95
ᶜĀlam, Shaykh Muhammad Ṣadr al-, 95, 110
Ali, Abū Jaᶜfar Muhammad Ibn, 185
Ali, Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn, 33
Ali, Imam Hasan Ibn, 58
Ali, Imam Jawād Abū Jaᶜfar Muhammad Ibn, 187
Ali, Imam Muhammad Ibn, 93, 157
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, adjurement at Ruḥbah, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, adjurement at the Battle of Ṣiffīn, 48
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, allegiance pledged to, 5, 41, 49, 51, 52, 55, 101, 147, 151, 159, 167
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, as allocator of Heaven and Hell, 16, 144
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, as banner, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 178, 179, 180

Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, as executor, 4, 18, 20, 21, 66, 89, 174, 182, 185
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, as Guardian, 6
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, as Imam, 88, 97, 149, 159, 167, 172, 178, 206
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, as master, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 57, 58, 61, 63, 66, 67, 79, 82, 84, 88, 89, 90, 92, 105, 121, 137, 143, 146, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 170, 172, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 193, 206, 208
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, as Muhammad's brother, 8, 13, 20, 22, 24, 81, 84, 137, 147, 185
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, as successor to Muhammad, 9, 11, 18, 20, 21, 24, 40, 53, 54, 66, 70, 81, 87, 137, 148, 150, 177, 180, 182, 206, 208
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, authority of, 20, 87, 95, 137, 143, 144, 149, *See also* Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, as master
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, clothing. *See* clothing, of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, first to embrace Islam, 14, 71, 73, 83
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, Ghadīr sermon, 134, 137
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, invested with turban. See turban
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, sleeping in Muhammad's bed, 78, 83, 176
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, struggling on God's path, 73, 83
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, superiority of, 76, 77, 78, 83
Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, virtues of, 14, 15, 40, 58, 68, 69, 71, 75, 83, 89, 96, 144, 174, 176
Ali Ibn al-Husayn, 63
almsgiving, 19, 21, 89, 139, 145, 149, 164, 170
Amālī, al- (Nīshābūrī), 133
Amālī, al- (Ṭūsī), 133
ʿĀmilī, ʿAllāmah Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn, 67
Amīnī, ʿAllāmah, 6, 11, 26, 28, 38, 48, 95, 96, 123, 147, 150, 153, 183, 209, 239
ʿĀmir, ʿAqabah Ibn, 38
ʿAmmār, 20, 174
ʿAmr, Minhāl Ibn, 47
Āmulī, Muhammad Ibn Maḥmūd, 99
Anas, 84
ʿAnasī, Sammāk Ibn ʿUbayd Ibn Walīd, 29
Andalusī, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 68
Anṣārī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAbd Rabb, 27, 33, 34
Anṣārī, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Thābit, 27, 34
Anṣārī, Abū al-ʿAbbās Sahl Ibn Saʿd, 27
Anṣārī, Abū Ayyūb Khālid , 17, 27, 34, 35, 37, 38
Anṣārī, Abū Fuḍālah, 27, 34
Anṣārī, Abū Laylā, 27
Anṣārī, Abū Qudāmah, 27, 35, 38

Anṣārī, Abū ʿUmrah Ibn ʿAmr Ibn Muḥṣin, 26
Anṣārī, Abū Zaynab Ibn ʿAwf, 26, 34
Anṣārī, Abū Yaʿlā, 27
Anṣārī, Ayotollah Shaykh Murtaḍā, 120
Anṣārī, Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib, 48
Anṣārī, Khālid Ibn Zayd, 48
Anṣārī, Nuʿmān Ibn ʿUjlān, 27
Anṣārī, Qāḍī Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim Ibn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Ibn Muhammad, 93
Anṣārī, Qays Ibn Saʿd Ibn ʿUbaydah Khazrajī, 48
Anṣārī, Qays Ibn Thābit Ibn Shimās, 48
Anṣārī, Saʿd Ibn Mālik, 27
Anṣārī, Thābit Ibn Wadīʿah, 34
Anṣārī, ʿUbayd Ibn ʿĀzib Anṣārī Nuʿmān Ibn ʿUjlān, 27, 34
Anṣārī, Yazīd Ibn Sharāḥīl, 27
Anṣārī, Zayd Ibn Arqam, 28
Anwār al-Malakūt fī Sharḥ Faṣṣ al-Yāqūt fī al-Kalāmī, 98
Ape and His Magic Cap, The, 122
ʿAqd al-Nabawī wa al-Sirr al-Muṣṭafawī, al-, 95
Aqrab al-Mawārid fī Fuṣḥ al-ʿArabiyyah wa al-Shawārid, 107, 138, 239
ʿArābī, Ibn al-, 106, 138
Arabs, 17, 39, 45, 46, 108, 120, 125, 159, 160, 205, 206, 207, 209, 211
Arbaʿīn fī Manāqib Amīr al-Muminīn, al-, 95
Arqam, Zayd Ibn, 17, 20, 26, 32, 146, 150, 153, 161
ʿĀṣ, ʿAmr Ibn al-, 67
ʿĀṣ, Ḥakam Ibn Abī al-, 62, 119
Ashʿarī, Shahr Ibn Ḥawshib, 192
Āshūb, Ibn Shahr, 6, 9, 92, 239
ʿAskarī, Abū Hilāl, 167
ʿAskarī, Imam Abū Muhammad, 183
Asmāʾ bint Umays, 43, 62, 118
Asnā al-Maṭālib fī Manāqib Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, 57
ʿAsqalānī, Ibn Ḥajar, 35, 36, 37, 42, 112, 123
Asrār al-Ḥaqqiyyah fī al-Ulūm al-ʿAqliyyah, al-, 98
Athīr, Ibn al-, 34, 35, 36, 39, 119, 124
Athīr, ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn, 124
Awāʾil, al-, 167
Awdī, Ali Ibn Ḥakīm, 30
ʿAwf, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn, 12, 14, 17, 51
Awfā, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Abī, 17
Awnī, 92
Aws, Shaddād Ibn, 27
Awsī, Sahl Ibn Ḥunayf Anṣārī, 27
ʿAwwām, Zubayr Ibn al-, 63
Ayishe, 41, 43, 49, 161, 164, 206
Ayman, Ayman Ibn Umm, 163
Ayman, ʿUbaydah Ibn Umm, 163
ʿAyniyyah, 110
ʿAyyāsh, Abān Ibn Abī, 16, 49, 61
Ayyūb, Abū, 46, 47
Ayyūb, Ḥabshūn Ibn Mūsā Ibn, 154

ᶜĀzib, Barāʾ Ibn, 47, 153, 154, 155, 157, 170, 192, 211

B

Bābawayh, Abū Jaᶜfar Muhammad Ibn, 173
Baghawī, Abū al-Qāsim al-, 123, 124
Baghawī, Ibn Manīᶜ, 209
Baghdādī, Abū Muhammad, 93
Baghdādī, Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr Khaṭīb, 154, 191
Baghdādī, Yaḥyā Ibn Jurayḥ, 183
Bāhilī, Abū Umāmah, 67
Bahjah li Thamarat al-Maḥajjah, al-, 139
Baḥrānī, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, 209
Baḥrāni, Muḥaddith, 58
Baḥrānī, Sayyid Hāshim, 96
Bajalī, Ḥabbat Ibn Juwayn ᶜAranī Abū Qudāmah, 28
Bajalī, Jarīr Ibn ᶜAbdillāh, 48
Bakr, Abū, 7, 8, 17, 20, 49, 54, 59, 71, 74, 76, 77, 79, 103, 104, 105, 123, 125, 149, 150, 151, 152, 158, 159, 162, 165, 180
Bakr, Muhammad Ibn Abī, 17
Bakrī the Liar, 123
Bandeh, Sultan Muhammad Khodā (Öljaitü), 97, 98, 99, 100
Banū Sāᶜidah's *saqīfah*, 162
Bāqir, Imam Muhammad, 6, 93, 187
Bashīr, Nuᶜmān Ibn, 67
Bashnavī, 136
Baṣrī, Abū al-Hasan, 17*baṭḥā*ʾ, 93, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110
baṭiḥ, 106
Battle of Badr, 27, 31, 73, 94, 95, 113, 117, 118, 144, 176, 208, 209
Battle of Ḥunayn, 77, 144, 176, 208, 209
Battle of Khandaq, 177
Battle of Khaybar, 176
Battle of Ṣiffīn, 27, 36, 48, 67, 84
Battle of Tabūk, 22
Battle of the Camel, 41, 49
Battle of Uḥud, 176
Bāvardī, 210
Bayḍāwī, Qāḍī Nāṣir al-Dīn, 99
Bayhaqī, Abū Bakr, 112, 119, 209, 210, 211
Bazzāz, Zādān Ibn Omar Kindī, 28, 42
beard, 204, 212
Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah, al-, 190
Biḥār al-Anwār, 96, 205
Bījorī, Shaykh Ibrāhīm, 201
Billāh, al-Mustanṣir, 147
Bird Hadith, 15, 75
Birr, Ibn ᶜAbd al-, 119, 122, 124, 125
Bukhārī,
Bukhārī, Abū ᶜAbdillāh, 103, 109, 123, 125, 161, 162, 164, 165, 195
Buldān, al-, 109
Buraydah, 121, 158

C

Caliphate, 9, 17, 24, 28, 40, 49, 51, 58, 68, 82, 97, 99, 100, 102, 104, 105, 148, 159, 162, 163
clothing, distracting, 200, 201
clothing, fez. *See* fez
clothing, in Heaven, 199, 200
clothing, mitre. *See* mitre
clothing, of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, 202, 205, 212
clothing, of Muhammad, 201, 205, 212
clothing, raiment of restraint, 199, 200, 204
clothing, *ridā'* (loose cloak), 211, 212
clothing, turban. *See* turban
clothing, Western, 204, 212
colonialism, 212
companions, 123, 124
curse, 7, 26, 31, 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 47, 90, 103, 104, 114, 115, 119, 122, 142, 183

D

Ḍabbibī, Rifā'at Ibn Ayās, 41
Ḍabʿī, Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Naṣr Ibn Jaʿfar, 93
Dakīn, Abū Nuʿaym Faḍl Ibn, 28, 92
Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah, 112
Dām, Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abī, 14
Ḍamān, Abū al-Nuʿmān Ibn, 54
Ḍamurah, 190, 191
Dāraquṭnī, Ḥāfiz Abū Hasan Ali Ibn Omar, 15, 16, 158, 192
Dardā', Abū, 48, 49, 51, 53, 56, 67
David, 202
Dawānīqī, Manṣūr, 110
Dawlatābādī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, 95
Dawsī, Abū Hurayrah, 27
Dāwūd, Abū Bakr Ibn Abī, 26, 124
Day of ʿArafah, 171, 190, 191, 192, 195
Day of Ghadīr Khumm, as a covenant, 136
Day of Ghadīr Khumm, celebration in Heaven, 134, 174, 188
Day of Ghadīr Khumm, celebration of, 133, 142, 145, 146, 148, 171, 172, 181
Day of Ghadīr Khumm, date, 172
Day of Ghadīr Khumm, events commemorated by, 145, 171
Day of Ghadīr Khumm, fasting 149, 153, 155, 156, 171, 172, 173, 174, 178, 179, 183, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193
Day of Ghadīr Khumm, for all Muslims, 146, 149
Day of Ghadīr Khumm, history of, 148, 170
Day of Ghadīr Khumm, importance of, 135, 136, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 155, 169, 175, 178, 189
Day of Ghadīr Khumm, incidents commemorated by, 137, 143, 166, 170, 173, 175, 189

Day of Ghadīr Khumm, prayers, 148, 178, 181, 182, 184, 185
Day of Ghadīr Khumm, superiority of, 166, 170, 171, 172, 173, 179, 180, 183, 188
Day of the Council, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16
Day of the Horsemen, 48
Daylamī, Ḥāfiz, 209, 210, 211
Daylamī, Mahyār, 5
Delivery Verse, 138
Dhahabī, Ḥāfiẓ Abū ʿAbdillāh, 26, 124, 125, 191
Dhakhīrat al-Miʾāl fi Sharḥ ʿIqd Jawāhir al-Āl, 96
Dharʿah, Abū, 124, 125
Dharr, Abū, 17, 20, 63, 174
Dimashqī, Ḥāfiẓ Ibn ʿAsākir, 155
Dimashqī, Ibn Kathīr, 30, 190
Dīn, Ghiyāth al-, 152
Duʿāt al-Hudāt ilā Ḥaqq al-Muwalāt, 95, 96
Dūristī, Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad, 16
Durr al-Maknūn fi ʿIlm al-Qānūn, al-, 98
Durr al Naẓīm fi Manāqib al-Aʾimmat al-Lahāmīm, al-, 14

E

elephant-riders, 115, 120
Enoch, 135

F

Fadak, 103
Fahrī, Ḥārith Ibn Nuʿmān, 87, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 105, 113, 115, 120, 122
Fahrī, Nuʿmān Ibn Mundhar, 93
Fanjkirdī, 136
Farāʾid al-Simṭayn, 11, 16, 55, 153, 154
Faraj, Abū al-, 88
Farewell Pilgrimage. *See* Muhammad, Farewell Pilgrimage
Farsī, Abū al-Hasan, 93
Farsī, Salmān, 63
fasting, 21, 89, 140, 149, 153, 155, 156, 171, 172, 173, 174, 178, 179, 183, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196
Fatḥūn, Abū Bakr Ibn, 124, 125
Fātihat al-Kitāb (Chapter 1: "The Opening"), 111
Fāṭimah, 6, 8, 11, 22, 57, 61, 64, 89, 103, 127, 161, 162, 174, 175
Fayrūz-Ābādī, Muhammad Ibn Yaʿqūb, 239
festival, 148, 166, 170, 171
Festival of Ghadīr Khumm. *See* Day of Ghadīr Khumm
festival rites, 139, 140, 141
fez, 205, 206, 210, 211, 212
forgiveness, 43, 110, 111, 115
Friday prayer, 141, 142, 211
Friday, as a festival, 141, 142, 171, 172, 174, 179, 184

G

Gabriel, 72, 111, 148, 155, 174, 180

Ghadīr Hadith, companions who bore witness to, 26, 47, 48
Ghadīr Hadith, evidence for, 7, 9, 16, 24, 41, 45, 48, 57, 58, 61, 66, 68
Ghadīr Hadith, objections to, 105–11
Ghadīr Hadith, reliance on, 7, 11, 12, 14, 16, 82, 145, 156
Ghadīr Hadith, Sunni scholars who support, 105
Ghadīr Hadith, witnesses who corroborated, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39
Ghadīr, al-, 6, 153, 239
Ghāyat al-Marām, 94, 96
Ghaylān, Abū, 15
Ghazālī, al-, 159
Guardianship, 19, 21, 68, 91, 149, 169, 171, 182, 189
Guardianship Hadith. *See* Ghadīr Hadith
Guardianship Verse, 11, 12

H

Ḥabbān, Abū Ḥātim Ibn, 124
Ḥabīb al-Siyar, 152
Ḥabshūn, 192
Ḥabshūn's Narration, 155
Ḥaddān, Dhī, 29
Ḥaddān, Saʿīd Ibn Abī, 29
Ḥadīd, Ibn Abī al-, 12, 24
Haḍr, Jābir Ibn, 120
Ḥajar, Ibn, 16, 123
ḥajj, 19, 21, 120, 142, 183, 188, 193
Ḥajūniyyah, Dārimiyyah, 68
Ḥakam, Marwān Ibn al-, 44, 45
Ḥākim (father of Ḥāfiẓ Ḥaskānī), 156
Ḥalabī, 26, 110
Ḥall al-Mushkilāt min Kitāb al-Talwīḥāt, 98
Hamadānī, ʿAmr Dhī Murrat Abū ʿAbdillāh Kūfī, 29
Hamedānī, Muhammad Mūsā, 183
Ḥamīdī, 103, 162
Ḥammād, Ibn, 239
Ḥamwīnī, Ibrāhīm Ibn Muhammad, 11, 16, 29, 36, 55, 93, 94, 126, 153, 154, 208
Ḥamzah, 17
Ḥanafī, Shaykh Muhammad Zarandī, 94
Ḥanafī, Shaykh Sulaymān Qundūzī, 38, 58
Ḥanbal, Aḥmad Ibn, 27, 30, 31, 32, 36, 154, 170
Hānī, Hānī Ibn, 39
Ḥanīfah, Abū, 106
Ḥanẓalah, 17
Harawī, Ḥāfiẓ Abū ʿUbayd, 95
Ḥarb, Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr Ibn, 118
Ḥārith, Abū Qudāmah Ibn, 36
Ḥārith, Jābir Ibn Naḍr Ibn, 87, 94, 95, 113
Ḥārithah, Zayd Ibn, 17
Ḥarrānī, Abū Rashid, 208
Ḥarrānī, *see* Taymiyyah
Ḥarth, Riyāḥ Ibn, 45
Ḥarth, ʿUbaydah Ibn, 17
Hasan, 6, 11, 17, 20, 22, 24, 61, 63, 64, 84, 127, 161, 175, 178

Hasan, Muhammad Ibn, 16
Hāshimī, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Faḍl, 169, 173
Hāshimites, 77, 78, 162
Ḥaṣīn, ʿImrān Ibn, 211
Ḥaskānī, Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Qāsim, 156, 192
Ḥaskānī, Ḥākim, 93, 95, 96, 106
Haṣṣār, Ibn al-, 112
Ḥātim, Abū Ṭarīf ʿAdī Ibn, 27, 38
Ḥawshab, Shahr Ibn, 67, 153, 154, 190
Ḥayṣ wa Bayṣ, 110
Haythamī, 32, 42
Haythamī, Ḥāfiẓ, 27
Haythamī, Ibn Ḥajar, 15, 158
Ḥāzimī, 147
Herawī, Abū ʿUbaydah, 105
Hidāyat al-Suʿadāʾ, 95
Hilālī, Sulaym Ibn Qays, *see* Qays, Sulaym Ibn
Ḥillī, Hasan Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101
Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ, 38
Ḥimyarī, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Jaʿfar, 179
Ḥimyarī, Sayyid, 110
Hindī, Mawlā Ali Muttaqī, 210
Household of Muhammad, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23, 24, 38, 58, 65, 100, 110, 122, 126, 159, 160, 161, 162, 170
Ḥubaysh, Zirr Ibn, 29, 47
Hūd, 116
Ḥudhayfah, Abū, 9
Ḥunayf, Sahl Ibn, 34
Hurayrah, Abū, 37, 48, 49, 51, 53, 56, 66, 67, 93, 153, 154, 155, 156, 190, 192, 195
Husayn, 6, 11, 17, 20, 22, 24, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 120, 121, 127, 161, 175, 178, 185
Husayn Ibn Ali, 59
Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, 110
Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, 110
Husayn, Ali Ibn al-, 93, 185, 187
Ḥusaynī, Husayn Ibn Hasan, 183
Ḥuwayrith, Mālik Ibn, 191

I

ʿIbādah, 211
Ibrāhīm, Ali Ibn, 171
Ibrāhīm, Furāt Ibn, 171
ʿIbrī, Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn, 100
ʿīd, meaning of, 138
ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā, 139, 141, 171, 172, 174, 179, 184
ʿĪd al-Fiṭr, 139, 140, 171, 172, 174, 179, 184
ʿĪd al-Ghadīr. *See* Day of Ghadīr Khumm
Īḍāḥ al-Maqāṣid min Ḥikmat ʿAyn al-Qawāʿid, 98
Īḍāḥ al-Talbīs fī Kalām al-Raʾīs, 98
Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq, 98
Ījī, Mawlā ʿIzz al-Dīn, 100
Ījī, Qāḍī ʿAḍud al-Dīn, 99
Imamate, 25, 97, 99, 100, 104, 105, 133, 136, 148, 149, 158, 159, 165, 170, 206

Iqbāl, al-, 166, 177, 179
ʿIqd al-Farīd, al-, 68
Iran, 146
Irbilī, Ali Ibn ʿĪsā, 45
ʿĪsā, Ḥammād Ibn, 16
Iṣābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah, al-, 123
Iṣfahānī, Abū Nuʿaym, 36, 37, 38, 123, 124, 192
Iṣfahānī, Ḥasanī Sayyid Ibn, 126
Isḥāq, Abū, 15, 30, 33, 39
Isrāʾīl, 33
Istiʿāb, al-, 122, 124, 125
Istiqṣāʾ al-Naẓar fī al-Qaḍāʾ wa al-Qadar, 98
Itqān, al-, 112

J

Jabal, Muʿādh Ibn, 9
Jabbār, ʿAbd al-, 82
Jābir, 210
Jaʿfar, ʿAbdullāh Ibn, 10, 17, 59, 66
Jaʿfar, Imam Mūsā Ibn, 57, 160, 187
Jahānī, ʿAqabah Ibn ʿĀmir, 27
Jahl, Abū, 94, 113
Jamʿ Bayn al-Saḥīḥayn, al-, 103
Jamharah, al-, 6
Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr, al-, 206, 207
Jamīl, Umm, 118
Jarrāḥ, Abū ʿUbaydah, 40
Jawāhir al-Naḍīd fī Sharḥ al-Tajrīd, al-, 98
Jawāhir al-Naqdayn, 95
Jawharī, Abū Naṣr Ismāʿīl Ibn Ḥammād al-, 106, 239
Jawzī, Sibṭ Ibn, 27, 42, 90, 110
Jazarī, Ibn Athīr, 33, 47, 207
Jesus, 91, 131, 174, 177, 202
Jews, 96, 101, 169, 171
John, 91
Joseph, 119, 143, 144
Joshua, 135
Juʿfī, Jābir Ibn Yazīd, 93, 185, 186, 1887
Jurmūz, ʿAmr Ibn, 44

K

Kaʿb, Ubayy Ibn, 17
Kaʿbah, 9, 132, 145, 164
Kāfī, al-, 173
Kaldah, Jābir Ibn Naṣr Ibn Ḥārith Ibn, 87
Kaldah, Naḍr Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn, 117
Kanz al-ʿUmmāl, 36, 209
Kashf al-Ghummah, 45
Kashf al-Ḥaqq wa Nahj al-Ṣidq, 98
Kashf al-Maḥajjah li Thamarat al-Maḥajjah, 139, 160
Kashf al-Murād fī Sharḥ Tajrīd al-Iʿtiqād, 98
Kashf wa al-Bayān, al-, 89, 90, 153, 154
Kashshī, Shaykh Abū ʿAmr Muhammad, 47
Kathīr, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196
Kātib, Abū al-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Naṣr al- (the Scribe), 108
Khālid, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn, 67
Khalīlī, 151
Khallāl, Ḥabshūn Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ayyūb, 190, 191, 192

Khallikān, Ibn, 147
Khārazmī, Khaṭīb, 11, 154
Khārazmī, Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad, 10
Khārijites, 97, 146
Khaṣā'iṣ, 32
Khaṭīb, 125, 190, 192
Khayr, ᶜAbd, 38
Khaythamah, Abū Bakr Ibn Abī, 123
Khayyāṭ, Khalīfah Ibn, 123
Khāzin, Tāj al-Dīn Ali Ibn al-Muḥibb Ibn ᶜAbdillāh Khāzin, 11
Khazrajī, Zayd Ibn Arqam, 48
Khudrī, Abū Saʿīd, 27, 38, 168, 170
Khurāsānī, Warrāq Abū Raja', 192
Khuzāʿī, Abū Shurayḥ, 38
Khuzāʿī, Ḥabīb Ibn Budayl Ibn Warqā', 48
Khuzāʿī, Khuwaylid Ibn ᶜAmr al-, 27
Khuzāʿī, Nājiyah Ibn ᶜAmr, 27, 37
Kilāᶜ, Dhū al-, 67
Kindī, Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ḥabībah, 15
Kindī, Ashᶜath Ibn Qays, 59
Kitāb al-Masarrah, 185
Kitāb Sulaym Ibn Qays al-Hilālī al-Kūfi, 7
Knowing the Imams, vol. 3, 6
Knowing the Imams, vol. 5, 12, 158
Knowing the Imams, vol. 7, 158
Knowing the Resurrection, 189
Kūfi, Bazzāz, 28
Kūfi, Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm, 93, 169, 173
Kūfi, Hānī Ibn Hānī Hamadānī, 29
Kūfi, Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Saʿīd Hāshimī, 173
Kūfi, Ibrāhīm Ibn Muhammad, 93
Kūfi, Saʿīd Ibn Abī Ḥaddān, 29
Kūfi, Saʿīd Ibn Wahab Hamadānī, 29
Kūfi, Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilālī, 48
Kūfi, ʿUmayrah Ibn Saᶜd Hamadānī, 29
Kūfi, Zayd Ibn Yuthayᶜ Hamadānī, 29
Kulaynī, Muhammad Ibn Yaᶜqūb, 171, 172, 183
Kulthūm, Umm, 57, 118, 119
Kurayz, Ibn ᶜĀmir Ibn, 67
Kurdī, Bashnavī, 136

L

Lahab, ʿUtbah Ibn Abī, 118, 119
Laylā, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī, 29, 30, 31, 36
Laylā, Abū, 17, 38
Laylā, ᶜĀmir Ibn, 27, 28, 109
Laythī, Abū al-Hasan, 179
Lisān al-ᶜArab, 107, 239
Lubnānī, Saʿīd al-Khūrī al-Shartūnī al-, 239
Lucknowī, Mawlawī Waliyyullāh, 152

M

Maʿārij al-ʿUlā fi Manāqib al-Murtaḍā, 95, 110
Madāʾinī, Abū Mūsā, 36
Maʿdān, Khālid Ibn, 210
Madanī, Ḥāfiẓ al-Kabīr Abū Mūsā, 57
Madanī, Sayyid Maḥmūd Ibn Muhammad Qādirī, 95
Madanī, Thābit Ibn Wadīʿah Anṣārī Khazrajī, 27
madhhab, 70, 92, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 105, 160
Madīnī, Abū Mūsā, 124
Majālis al-Muʾminīn, 99
Majd al-Dīn, Ibn Athīr Jazarī, 206
Majlisī, ʿAllāmah, 6, 96, 205
Majmaʿ al-Baḥrayn, 27, 239
Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid, 32
Mālik, Anas Ibn, 17, 37, 38, 47, 48, 191
Mālik, Kaʿb Ibn, 125
Mālik, Walīd Ibn Yazīd Ibn ʿAbd al-, 108
Mālikī, Ibn Ṣabbāgh, 106
Maʾmūn the Abbasid, 68, 69, 70, 82
Manāhij al-Yaqīn, 98
Manāqib, al-, 9, 10, 92, 239
Manāqib Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, al- (The Virtues of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib), 151
Manāwī, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, 207
Manṣūr, 93
Manẓūr, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Muhammad Ibn Mukarram Ibn, 239
Maqdisī, Abū Bakr Muhammad Ibn ʿAbdillāh Ibn Muḥibb, 57
Maqdisī, ʿImād al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Badrān Ibn Shibl, 93
Marāghī, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Mālik, 99
Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ, 109
Marāṣid al-Tadqīq wa Maqāṣid al-Taḥqīq, 98
Mardawayh, Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Mūsā, 14, 45, 123, 192
Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥābah, 210
Marwān, Omar Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn, 84
Marwazī, Abū Najīb Saʿd Ibn ʿAbdillāh Hamadānī, 10
Maryam, Asadī Abū, 29
Marzaqī, Abū Bakr Ibn, 155
Masāḥiqī, ʿAbd al-Jabbār Ibn Saʿd, 82
Maskawayh, Ibn, 82
Maslamah, Muhammad Ibn, 17
Masʿūdī, Abū al-Hasan Ali Ibn Husayn, 42, 43, 44, 45, 83, 146
Maṭīn, 124
Māwardī, Abū Manṣūr, 124
Mawlā, meaning of, 105, 155, 158
Mawṣilī, Abū Bakr Naqqāsh, 95
Maybudī, 109
Mazār, al-, 185, 187
Mecca, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 141, 146, 147, 166, 176
Meccan and Medinan chapters, 111, 112, 113
Medina, 22, 28, 37, 41, 61, 82, 83, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116, 146, 147
Milal wa al-Niḥal, al-, 157
Minhāj al-Hidāyah wa Miʿrāj al-Dirāyah, 98

Minhāj al-Karāmah fi Maᶜrifat al-Imāmah, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101
Minhāj al-Sunnah fi Naqḍ Kalām al-Shīᶜah wa al-Qadariyyah, 97, 100
Miqdād, al-, 17, 20, 63, 174
Mirʾāt al-Muʾminīn, 152
Miṣbāḥ al-Munīr, al-, 107, 138
Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid, 134, 170, 178
Miṣbāḥ al-Sharīᶜah, 200
Miṣbāḥ al-Zāʾir wa Janāḥ al-Musāfir, 185
Miṣrī, Shaykh Muhammad ᶜAbduh, 96
mitre, 205
Moses, 4, 13, 22, 50, 57, 66, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 137, 147, 174, 202
Muʾaddab, Saʿīd Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Makkī Nīlī, 3, 4
Muʾadhdhin, Abū Sulaymān, 28
Muᶜaṭṭil, Ṣafwān Ibn, 164
Muᶜāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān, 27, 48, 49, 51, 53, 54, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 84, 160
Muᶜāwiyah, Yazīd Ibn, 120
Muᶜayṭ, ᶜAqabah Ibn Abī, 94, 117
Mubāḥathāt al-Saniyyah wa al-Muᶜāraḍāt al-Naṣīriyyah, al-, 98
Muḍar, 119
Mudlij, Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn, 39, 48
Mufākharah, 6
Mufīd (Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Nuᶜmān), 173, 184
Mughīrah, Walīd Ibn, 109
Muḥākamāt bayn Shurrāḥ al-Ishārāt, al-, 98
Muhammad, Abū ᶜAbdilāh Jaᶜfar Ibn, 179
Muhammad, Ḥāfiẓ Sulaymān Ibn, 10
Muhammad, Jaᶜfar Ibn, 57, 84, 89, 93, 208
Muhammad, Mundhir Ibn, 14
Muhammad (son of Ali, son of Husayn, son of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib), 63
Muhammad (the Prophet), as example, 205
Muhammad (the Prophet), clothing, *see* clothing, of Muhammad
Muhammad (the Prophet), death of, 7, 9, 64, 103, 106, 124, 138, 159, 162
Muhammad (the Prophet), emulation of, 202, 203, 204
Muhammad (the Prophet), Farewell Pilgrimage, 35, 79, 109, 125, 146, 147, 148, 153, 180
Muhammad (the Prophet), migration, 111, 113, 114, 176
Muhammad (the Prophet), sermon at Ghadīr Khumm, 5, 6, 8, 23, 25, 29, 88, 89, 137, 147, 148, 149, 155, 156, 157, 161, 180, *see also* Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, as master
Muḥāribī, Ṭāriq, 118
Muḥṣin, Abū ʿUmrah Ibn ᶜAmr Ibn, 34
Mujāhid, 94

Muᶜjam al-Buldān, 108
Muᶜjam al-Kabīr, al- (The Great Encyclopedia), 26, 124, 210
Mujtabā, Imam Hasan, 57, 59
Mukhaḍramī, Abū ᶜUmayrah ᶜAbd Khayr Ibn Yazīd Hamadānī Kūfī, 29
Mukhtalaf, al-, 98
Mukhtaṣar Baṣāʾir al-Darajāt, 183
Mundah, Abū ᶜAbdillāh Ibn, 123, 124
Munīᶜ, Zayd Ibn, 33
Muntahā, al-, 98
Muqāwamāt, al-, 98
Muqrī, Abū al-Muẓaffar ᶜAbd al-Wāḥid Ibn Ḥamad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Shīdhah al-, 14
Muqrī, Saʿīd Ibn Abī Saʿīd, 93
Murr, ᶜAmr Ibn Dhī, 29, 33, 39
Murrah, Ibn, 24, 36
Murūj al-Dhahab, 83
Mūsā, Abū, 34, 35, 39, 47
Mūsā, Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn, *see* Mardawayh
Musalsal bi al-Asmāʾ, al-, 57
Mūsawī, Sayyid Nassābah Jalāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Ḥāmid Ibn Fakhkhār Ibn Maᶜd, 16
Muslim, 103, 109, 161, 162, 164, 165, 169
Muslim (*al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*), 125
Muslim, Hārūn Ibn, 179
Musnad, 30, 154, 209
Musnad al-Firdaws, 210
Mustadrak, al-, 41
Mustaᶜlī, al-, 147
Mustanṣiriyyah School, 160, 165, 166
Muṭṭālib, Ḥārith Ibn ᶜAbd al-, 163
Muttaqī, Mullā Ali, 36
Muwālāt fī Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr, al-, 36
muwālāt Hadith, 38
Muwālāt, al-, 37

N

Nadīm al-Farīd, 82
Nafāʾis al-Funūn, 99
Nahj al-Balāghah, 12, 202
Nahj al-Ḥaqq, 98
Nahj al-Mustarshidīn, 98
Nahrawānī, ᶜAbd al-Aᶜlā Ibn ᶜAdī al-, 210
Naqqāsh, Abū Bakr, 105
Nasāʾī, 32, 33, 42
Nashr wa al-Ṭayy, al-, 96, 151, 168, 169, 173, 184, 188
Naṣr, Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abī, 133
Naṣr, Ḥārithah Ibn, 29
Nawawī, 125
Nawrūz, 138, 146
Nayyirī, Aḥmad Ibn ᶜAbdillāh Ibn Aḥmad, 190, 191
Night of Decree, 132, 195
Nihāyah, al-, 107, 207
Nihāyat al-Marām fī ᶜIlm al-Kalām, 98
Nīshābūrī, 92
Nīshābūrī, Abū ᶜAbdillāh, 41, 42, 133
Nīshābūrī, Abū Isḥāq Thaᶜlabī, 89
Nīshābūrī, Abū Saʿīd Khargūshī, 170

Niẓāmiyyah School, 166
Noah, 18, 66
Nuᶜaym, Abū, *see* Isfahānī, Abū Nuᶜaym
Nuᶜaym, Abū (Faḍl Ibn Dakīn), 32
Nuᶜaym, Ḥāfiz Abū, 210
Nubātah, Aṣbagh Ibn, 28, 33, 34, 35, 66, 67
Nuᶜmān, Ḥārith Ibn, *see* Fahrī, Ḥarth Ibn Nuᶜmān
Nūr al-Abṣār fī Manāqib Āl Bayt al-Nabī al-Mukhtār, 96
Nūrī, Muḥaddith, *see* Taqī, Imām Muhammad
Nuzhah, al-, 95

O

obedience, 21, 24, 65, 66, 135, 136, 139, 181
Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 7, 8, 9, 14, 15, 17, 20, 24, 27, 36, 40, 50, 54, 59, 71, 74, 79, 103, 105, 107, 109, 125, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 162, 165, 169, 170, 180, 190, 191, 192, 211
Omar, ᶜAbdullāh Ibn, 109, 195, 211
Omar, Mufaḍḍal Ibn, 174, 179
Othman, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 41, 42, 43, 45, 49, 53, 54, 59, 67, 93, 103, 118, 119, 125, 150, 160, 165, 180
Othman Ibn ᶜAffān, 51, 118
Othman Ibn Ḥunayf, 41

P

perfection of the religion, 91, 135, 137, 148, 149, 155, 156, 157, 168, 170, 171, 173, 178, 190, 192
Persians, 207
Peter, 174
pilgrim sanctity, 141, 212
polytheists, 78, 83, 111, 113, 114, 115, 182, 208
prayer duel, 169
Prayer-Duel Hadith, 12
Prayer-Duel Verse, 175
Prophethood, 9
punishment, 19, 21, 38, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 103, 104, 111, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 122, 131, 136, *See also* curse
Punishment Hadith, *see* Fahrī, Ḥarth Ibn Nuᶜmān
Purification Verse, 6, 162

Q

Qāhir, Abū al-Hasan ᶜAbd al-, 187
Qāmūs al-Lughah, 239
Qashāshī, Sayyid Aḥmad, 209
Qāsim, Najm al-Dīn Abū al-(Muḥaqqiq Ḥillī), 28, 100
Qaṣrī, Bakr Ibn Aḥmad, 57
Qatādah, 119, 206
Qawāᶜid al-Jaliyyah fī Sharḥ al-Risālah, al-, 98
Qawāᶜid wa al-Maqāṣid fī al-Manṭiq wa al-Ṭabīᶜī wa al-Ilāhī, al-, 98

Qays, 55
Qays, Aḥnaf Ibn, 44
Qays, Ashᶜath Ibn, 123
Qays, Sulaym Ibn, 21, 49, 53, 54, 61
Qazvīnī, Shaykh Omar Kātibī, 92, 106, 100
qiblah, 111
Qudāmah, Abū, 36
Qummī, Abū Jaᶜfar Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Bābawayh, 16
Qummī, Aḥmad Ibn Isḥāq, 183
Qummī, Muḥaddith, 201
Qummī, Shādhān Ibn Jibrāʾīl, 16
Qurashī, Ḍamurah Ibn Rabīᶜah, 192
Quraysh, 11, 16, 17, 18, 45, 50, 62, 78, 83, 106, 108, 114, 117, 119, 120, 149, 165, 168
Quraysh al-Abāṭiḥ, 107
Quraysh al-Baṭḥāʾ, 108
Quraysh al-Biṭāḥ, 106, 107
Quraysh al-Ẓawāhir, 106, 107, 108
Qurrah, Hasan Ibn Yūsuf Ibn, 185, 187
Qurṭubī, 94, 95, 106

R

Rabīᶜah, Omar Ibn Abī, 6, 163
Rāfiḍī, 11, 25, 96, 101, 126, 127
Rāfiʿī, ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Faḍl, 126
Raḥmān, Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Abī Bakr Ibn ᶜAbd al-, 17, 151
Ramlī, Abū Naṣr Ali Ibn Saʿīd, 191, 192
Rāshid, Hasan Ibn, 171, 179, 208
Rawḍat al-Nadiyyah fī Sharḥ al-Tuḥfat al-ᶜAlawiyyah, al-, 96
Rawḍat al-Ṣafāʾ, 152
Rayyah, Maḥmūd Abū, 67
Rāzī, 12, 92
Rāzī, Abū al-Futūḥ, 90
Rāzī, Abū Dharᶜah, 124
Rāzī, Abū Ḥātim, 26
Rāzī, Fakhr, 11, 194
Ribʿī, 93
Riḍā, Ali Ibn Mūsā al-, 82, 133, 134, 184, 188
Riḍā, Sayyid Muhammad Rashīd, 125
Rijāl, 47
Rikānah, 210, 211
rings, 204
Riqqī, Dāwūd Ibn Kathīr, 178
Risālat Wājib al-Iᶜtiqād, 98
Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah, al-, 210
Rostamī, Abū Ali, 126
Rōzbehān, Faḍl Ibn, 98
Rumaylah, Abū, 46
Rūmī, Ibn al-, 88
Ruqayyah, 118

S

Ṣabbāgh, Ibn, 94
Saᶜd, ᶜAmr Ibn, 33
Saᶜd, Muhammad Ibn, 123
Saᶜd, Sahl Ibn, 38
Saᶜd, ᶜUmayrah Ibn, 37
Ṣādiq, Abū ᶜAbdillāh Jaᶜfar Ibn Muhammad al-, 6, 93, 169, 171, 172, 173, 174, 178, 179, 183, 184, 187, 200, 202

Ṣadūq, Shaykh, 179
Ṣafiyyah Bint ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭālib, 118
Ṣafūrī, Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, 95
Ṣafwānī, Abū ᶜAbdillāh Muhammad Ibn Aḥmad, 184
Ṣaḥīḥ, 146, 169
Sahl Ibn Ḥunayf, 27, 41
Sāʿī, Ibn al-, *see* Khāzin, Tāj al-Dīn Ali Ibn al-Muḥibb Ibn ᶜAbdillāh
Saʿīd, Abū, 30, 33, 37, 191
Saʿīd, Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn, 15
Saʿīd, Othman Ibn, 24
Saʿīd, Sufyān Ibn, 93
Sakan, Abū Ali Ibn, 124
Salamah, ᶜAmr Ibn Abī, 62
Salamah, Omar Ibn Abī, 49, 64, 65
Salamah, Umm, 22
Ṣāliḥ, 116
Sālim, 9, 17
Sālim, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn, 172
Sālim, Abū Qudāmah Ibn Sahl Ibn Ḥārith Ibn Juᶜdabah Ibn Thaᶜlabah Ibn, 36
Sallūlī, Ḥubshī Ibn Junādah, 27, 34
Salmān, Rabīᶜ Ibn, 19, 20, 22, 23, 126, 174
Ṣalt, Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn, 15
Samhūdī, 106
Samṭ, Sharḥabīl Ibn, 67
Samurah, Jābir Ibn, 165
Saᶜūd, Abū al-, 94
Ṣayfī, Ibn al-, *see* Ḥayṣ was Bayṣ
Sayyidah, Ibn, 107
Seth, 135
Shādhān, Ibn, 210
Shādhilī, 201
Shāfiʿī, 126, 155, 156
Shāfiʿī, Aḥmad Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Kinānī ᶜAsqalānī, *see* Ḥajar, Ibn
Shāfiʿī, Burhān al-Dīn Ḥalabī, 94
Shāfiʿī, Muhammad Ibn Ṭalḥah, 146
Shāfiʿī, Sayyid Muʾmin Shiblanjī, 96
Shāfiʿī, Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Ḥasanī Samhūdī, 95
Shāfiʿī, Shams al-Dīn Ḥafnī, 95
Shāfiʿī, Shams al-Dīn Jazarī Dimashqī Muqrī, 57
Shāfiʿī, Shams al-Dīn Sharbīnī Qādirī, 95
Shāfiʿī, Shaykh Aḥmad Ibn ᶜAbd al-Qādir Ḥifẓī, 95
Shāfiʿī, Shaykh Aḥmad Ibn Bākthīr Makkī, 95
Shāh, Ibn Khāvand, 152
Shahādatayn, Khuzaymah Ibn Thābit Anṣārī Dhū al-, 27
Shāhīn, Abū Ḥafṣ Ibn, 124, 156
Shahristānī, 157, 158
Shamāʾil al-Muhammadiyyah, al-, 201
Shamāʾil, al-, 207
Shāmī, Yūsuf Ibn Ḥātim, 14
Sharāʾiᶜ al-Islām, 100
Sharḥ al-Akhbār (Commentary on the Narrations), 92

Sharḥ al-Jāmiᶜ al-Ṣaghīr li al-Suyūṭī, 95
Sharḥ al-Mawāhib, 210
Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar, 99
Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, 112
shariᶜa, 141, 143, 148, 211
shaving. *See* beard
Shawāhid al-Tanzīl, 156
Shawdhab, Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, 192
Shawdhab, Ibn, 190
Shaybah, Ḥāfiẓ ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Abī, 209
Shiᶜa, 6, 7, 11, 24, 25, 40, 49, 58, 59, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 103, 106, 111, 112, 145, 146, 147, 148, 158, 159, 160, 161, 165, 184, 187, 190, 193
Shībānī, Saᶜd Ibn Ṭālib, 15
Shiblanjī, Shaykh, 207
Shifāʾ al-Ṣudūr, 95
Shihāb al-Dīn, Ibn Ṣayfī, 110
Shihāb, Ṭāriq Ibn, 169
Shiᶜism, 105, 126, 160
Shimās, Qays Ibn Thābit Ibn, 47
Shimronite, 66
Shīrāzī, ᶜAbdullāh, 93
Shīrāzī, Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn, 95
Shuᶜab al-Īmān, 210, 211
Shuᶜayb, Aḥmad Ibn (Nasāʾī), 33
Shukhayr, ᶜAbdullāh Ibn, 209
Shumayyil, Ibn, 107
Shurayḥ, Abū, 27
Shurayk, 30
Shūshtarī, Mawlā Badr al-Dīn, 100
Shūshtarī, Qāḍī Sayyid Nūrullāh, 98, 99
Ṣiḥāḥ al-Lughah, 107, 138
Sijistānī, 192
Simon, 135
Simṭ, 11
Simṭ al-Majīd, al-, 209
Sīnā, Shaykh Abū Ali Ibn, 98
Sīrah, 110
Sirāj al-Munīr, al-, 95
Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah, al-, 25, 27, 94
Sirāṭ al-Sawī fī Manāqib al-Nabī, al-, 95
Sīrat Ibn Hishām, 95
Sirr al-ᶜĀlamīn, 159
Status Hadith, 15
Sufyān, Abū, 163
Sufyān, ᶜUtbah Ibn Abī, 67
Sufyān, Yaᶜqūb Ibn, 123
Sukaynah, 57
Sulaym, *see* Qays, Sulaym Ibn
Sulaymān, Rabīᶜ Ibn, 155
Sunnis, 6, 24, 26, 40, 49, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 104, 105, 106, 111, 112, 121, 122, 123, 125, 126, 145, 153, 159, 160, 161, 175, 176, 177, 187, 190, 192, 196
Sūrat al-Anfāl, 113, 114
Sūrat al-Barāʾah, 14, 176
Sūrat al-Dahr, 75
Sūrat al-Ḥajj, 22
Sūrat al-Maᶜārij, 95, 111, 112, 113
Sūrat al-Māʾidah, 114
Sūrat al-Mathānī ("The Chapter of Twice-Revealed Verses"), 111
Sūrat al-Rūm (Chapter 30: "The Byzantines"), 111
Suyūṭī, 27, 112, 206, 209

T

Ṭabarānī, 124, 210, 211
Ṭabarī, 12, 192
Ṭabarī, Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad, 151
Ṭabarī, Muhammad Ibn Jarīr, 150
Ṭabarī, Muḥibb al-Dīn, 210
Ṭabarsī, Shaykh, 6, 92
Ṭabāṭabā'ī, ᶜAllāmah, 126, 228, 254
Tabṣirah, al-, 98
Tabūk, 125
Tadhkirah, al-, 27, 98, 110
Tafsīr Abī al-Saᶜūd, 105
Tafsīr al-Manār, 96, 125
Tafsīr al-Mīzān, 126
Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī, 95
Tafsīr al-Thaᶜlabī, 90, 105
Tafsīr ᶜAtīq, 93
Tafsīr Gharīb al-Qur'ān, 95
Tafsīr Shāhī, 95
Taghlib, Abān Ibn, 14
Tahdhīb al-Lughah, 106
Ṭahrānī, ᶜAbd al-Razzāq Ibn Omar, 14
Taḥrīr, al-, 98
Tāj al-ᶜArūs, 106, 107, 207
Tāj al-Lughah wa Ṣiḥāḥ al-ᶜArabiyyah Ṣiḥāḥ al-Lugha, 239
Tajrīd, al-, 125
Ṭalḥah (Ibn ᶜUbaydillāh), 17, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 150, 151
Ṭalḥah, Muhammad Ibn, 41
Ṭālib, ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Jaᶜfar Ibn Abī, 61
Ṭālib, Abū Ghaylān Saᶜd Ibn, 39
Tamīm, Khalaf Ibn, 33
Tanaqqulāt al-Anwār, 123
Taqī, Imam Muhammad, 125, 160
Ṭarā'if, al-, 169, 175, 176, 177
Ṭarāzī, Muhammad Ibn Ali, 174, 179, 184, 187
Tārīkh al-Khulafā' (History of the Caliphs), 27
Tārīkh al-Ṭabari, 95
Tārīkh al-Yaᶜqūbī, 95
Tārīkh Baghdād, 155, 190
Taslīk al-Nafs ilā Ḥaẓirat al-Quds, 98
Ṭāwūs, 179, 184, 185, 187, 188
Ṭāwūs, Aḥmad Ibn, 100
Ṭāwūs, Ali Ibn, 100
Ṭāwūs, Sayyid Ibn, 139, 160, 166, 168, 173, 175, 184
Ṭayālisī, Abū Dāwūd, 209
Taymiyyah, 100, 101, 102, 104, 105–11, 113, 120, 121, 122, 125
Tayyihān, Abū al-Haytham Ibn al-, 17, 27, 38, 48, 167, 168
Thābi, Zayd Ibn t, 17
Thābit, ᶜAdī Ibn, 154
Thābit, Ḥassān Ibn, 6
Thābit, Khuzaymah Ibn, 34, 38, 47, 48
Thābit, Shaykh al-Islam, 208
Thaᶜlabī, Abū Isḥāq, 90, 92, 93, 94, 96, 105, 112, 126, 147, 153, 154
Thaqafī, Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf, 96
Thaqafī, Ṭarīḥ Ibn Ismāᶜ, 108
Thaqafī, Yaᶜlā Ibn Murrah Ibn Wahab, 28
Thimār al-Qulūb, 126, 147
Tirmidhī, 146
Ṭufayl, Abū, 10, 15, 28, 31, 32, 35, 38
Ṭuhman, Maṭar Ibn, 192

Ṭurayḥī, Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn Muhammad al-, 239
turban, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212
Ṭūsī, 92
Ṭūsī, Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad Ibn Hasan, 15, 57, 133, 134, 173, 178, 187
Tūsī, Ali, 84
Ṭūsī, Khājeh Naṣīr al-Dīn, 100

U

ʿUbayd, Abū, 92
ʿUbaydah, Abū, 9, 17
ʿUbaydah, Qays Ibn Saʿd Ibn, 17, 47, 84, 162
ʿUbaydī, al-Mustanṣir Billāh, 147
Udhaynah, Omar Ibn, 16
ʿUlā, Abū al-, 87
Umayyads, 50
ʿumrah, 120, 183, 188
ʿUqbah, Walīd Ibn, 67, 117
ʿUqdah, Ḥāfiẓ Ibn, 33
ʿUqdah, Ibn, 35, 36, 37
ʿUrwah, 119
Usāmah, 210
Usayd, Ḥudhayfah Ibn, 109
Usd al-Ghābah, 33, 124, 125
ʿUtbah, Hāshim Mirqāl Ibn, 17, 47, 48
ʿUyaynah, Sufyān Ibn, 89, 92, 93, 105, 106, 112, 121

W

Wadīʿah, Yazīd Ibn, 39, 48
Wahab, Saʿīd Ibn, 30, 32, 33, 38, 39
Wahhāb, Muhammad Ibn ʿAbd al-, 122
Wahhābīs, 102, 122, 193
Wāḥidī, Abū al-Hasan, 126
walāʾ, meaning of, 155, 156
walāyah, meaning of, 105, 120, 125, 126, 150, 158, 159
Wāqif, Ibn Mālik Ibn, 36
Waqqāṣ, Saʿd Ibn Abī, 17, 62
Warqāʾ, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Budayl Ibn, 47, 48
Warrāq, Maṭar, 190
Wasīlat al-Miʾāl fī ʿIdd Manāqib al-Āl, 95
Wāsiṭī, Abū al-Hasan Ali Ibn Ḥassān, 183, 187
Wāsiṭī, Muhammad Ibn ʿAlā Hamedānī, 183
Wāthalah, ʿĀmir Ibn, 14
Wudd, ʿAmr Ibn ʿAbd, 176

Y

Yaḥyā, Qāsim Ibn, 171
Yaʿlā, ʿAmr Ibn ʿAbdillāh Ibn, 36
Yamān, Ḥudhayfah Ibn al-, 93, 105, 121
Yamānī, Sayyid Ibn ʿIdrūs Ḥusaynī, 95
Yamānī, Sayyid Muhammad Ibn Ismāʿīl, 96
Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah, 82
Yaqīn, al-, 99
Yaʿqūbī, 45
Yāsir, ʿAmmār Ibn, 27, 48, 84
Yassār, Ḥabīb Ibn, 46
Yazdī, Abū Bakr, 156

Yazīd, Yaʿqūb Ibn, 16
Yūsuf, Shaykh Sadīd al-Dīn, 100
Yuthay, Zayd Ibn ʿ, 30
Yuthīʿ, Yazīd Ibn, 33, 39

Z

Zādān, Abū Omar, 57
Ẓahīr, Muhammad Ibn, 169, 173
Zarqānī, ʿAllāmah, 210
Zayd, 30
Zayd Ibn Ḥārithah, 79, 118, 121
Zayd, Isḥāq Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Ismāʿīl Ibn Ḥammād Ibn, 69
Zayd, Khālid Ibn, 47
Zayd, Usāmah Ibn, 62, 64, 65, 163
Zaynab, 57, 121
Zaynab, Abū, 34, 35
Ziyād, Sahl Ibn, 29, 172
Zoroastrianism, 146
Zubaydī, 207
Zubayr, ʿAbdullāh Ibn,17, 41, 41, 42, 43, 44, 49, 112, 150, 151
Zulaykhā, 143, 144